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# CIVIL WAR HISTORY



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## CIVIL WAR HISTORY

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## Editorial

THIS ISSUE marks the end of the first full publication year of *Civil War History*. I hope sincerely that we have presented to you a journal that you have found both instructive and entertaining. Please do not hesitate to send me your comments and criticisms—and if you have a manuscript about some aspect of our favorite war, send it along, too.

With this issue we lose the valuable services of Pete Long. The pressure of his commitment to Doubleday and to Bruce Catton has made it necessary for him to resign his editorship of "The Continuing War." Pete has always been ready to be of service to *Civil War History*, and was a real tower of strength in our hectic pre-publication days; happily, he will continue to serve on our editorial board.

We have in preparation three special issues of *Civil War History*. The first will be edited by Dr. Walter Blair of The University of Chicago and will present studies of the humor of the Civil War period. The second is to be edited by Dr. Albert T. Luper of the State University of Iowa and will study Civil War music. The third special issue which we hope to publish later on will examine in detail the financial activities of the war and reconstruction eras.

CLYDE C. WALTON JR.

John K. Hulston is an attorney at Springfield, Missouri. He did most of the research for this article while an army officer in World War II. He is a founder of the Wilson's Creek Battlefield Foundation. A few years ago he published an historical article: "Daniel Boone's Sons in Missouri."

## West Point & Wilson's Creek

JOHN K. HULSTON

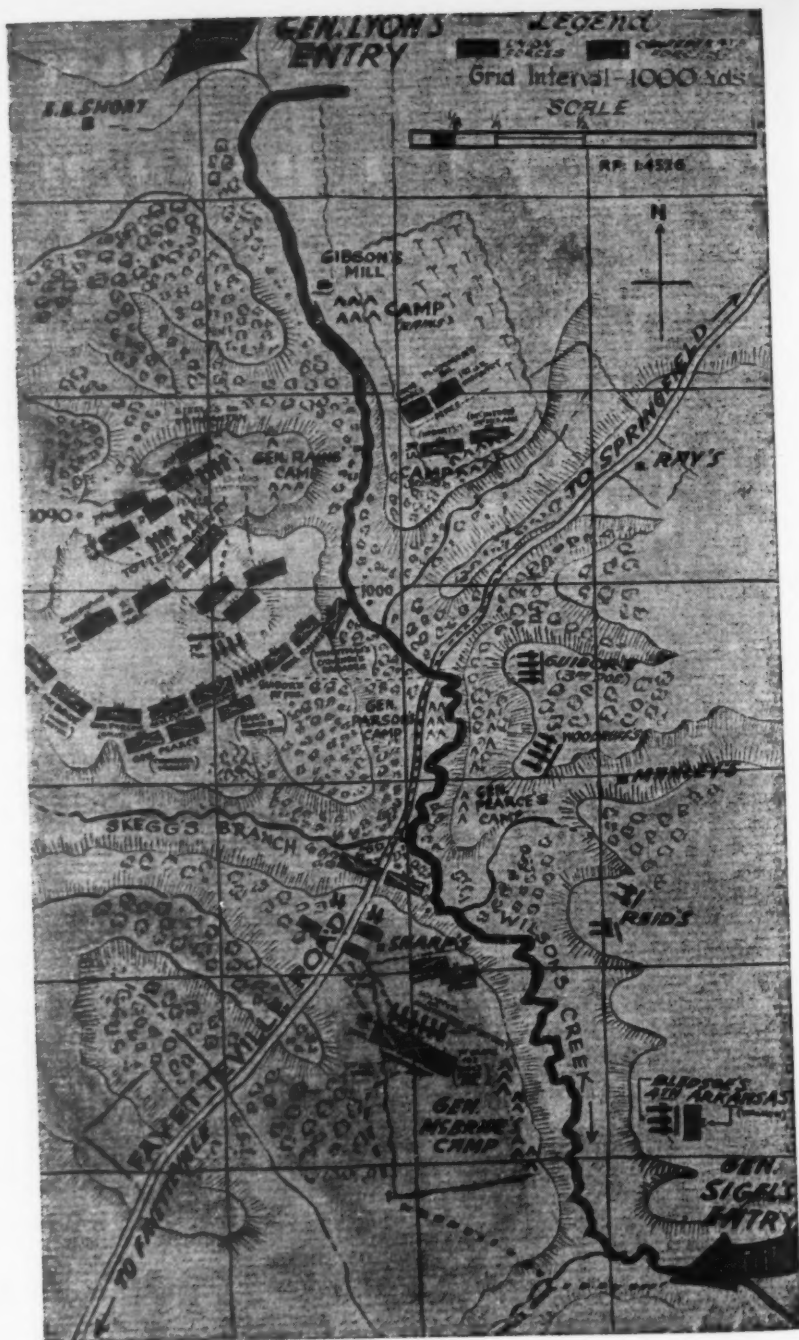
THE PURPOSE OF THIS ARTICLE IS FOURFOLD: (1) To chronicle the eighteen United States Military Academy graduates engaged in their initial conflict and to observe their application of tactics, logistics and discipline learned in the classroom and on the frontier. (2) To sketch the battle of Wilson's Creek, a highly suitable laboratory because of the small number of West Pointers engaged and the large number of official reports rendered. (3) To ascertain the chief lessons the West Pointers learned at Wilson's Creek and to comment on a few of the battles later on where they had an opportunity to reflect upon what they had learned. (4) To record the unique distinction of Wilson's Creek which is that among many Civil War battles, considering the number of West Pointers engaged, Wilson's Creek ranks foremost as a proving ground for company and field grade officers who subsequently attained brigade, divisional, corps and army commands.

Prior to the engagement at Wilson's Creek,<sup>1</sup> little indeed was known concerning these officers' qualifications for battle leadership. Nathaniel

<sup>1</sup> Known also as the battle of Springfield and/or Oak Hills. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: 1880-1901), Series 1, volume 3, p. 2. Hereafter cited as O.R., followed by the series number, the volume number in roman numerals, the part number (if any), and the page, as: O.R., 1, III, p. 2.

The commander of Union troops reported the engagement as the battle of "Springfield" (O.R., 1, III, p. 64) and in December, 1861 an Act of Congress declared "Springfield" the official name (O.R., 1, III, p. 93). It seemed awkward to speak of a battle which occurred 10 miles southwest of Springfield as being the battle of Springfield. A desire for accuracy of expression determined "Wilson's Creek" to be a practical name.

To the War Department in Richmond — on the day of battle — the Confederate commander reported a victory on the "Battlefield of Oak Hills" (O.R., 1, III p.



Lyon alone had participated in the Florida hostilities of 1841. In the war with Mexico in 1847 only four of the West Pointers were under fire. Prior service, for most of them, was limited to tours of frontier duty and occasional Indian skirmishes.

In order to pursue careers in civil life, two officers had resigned their commissions. Three officers had completed twenty years of service, while one officer had graduated only three months earlier. The average length of service was less than eleven years. The oldest officer was forty-three, the youngest was twenty-one, while thirty-four was the average age.<sup>2</sup>

Of the eighteen West Pointers participating at Wilson's Creek, four claimed a Confederate command and fourteen held commissions in the regular United States Army. On the day of battle two wore the epaulettes<sup>3</sup> of general officers; both were brigadiers: Nathaniel Lyon, commander of the Union Army of the West, and N. B. Pearce, temporarily a brigadier of Arkansas State troops.<sup>4</sup>

Before the close of the Civil War—in addition to Lyon—of the thirteen Union West Pointers who fought at Wilson's Creek, five attained the coveted rank of major general, commanding divisions, corps, and armies;<sup>5</sup> three rose to be brigadier generals leading brigades and divisions; four became colonels, one was a captain.

Within the two years following Wilson's Creek, the three Confederate West Pointers, in addition to Pearce, rose to be brigadier generals in the Provisional Army, C. S. A.

Let us turn to the command function which the four Confederate West Pointers performed at Wilson's Creek:

130). Oak Hills was not an established landmark, however, and must be located with reference to the well known creek crossing the battlefield.

Following the Civil War it was the custom for persons—according to their sympathy—to distinguish the same battle by use of a different name, so that many Southerners preferred the Confederate "Oak Hills." See *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: The Century Co., 1887-88), volume 1, page 298. All references to *Battles and Leaders* in this paper refer to volume one; the work will hereafter be cited as *B. & L.*

<sup>2</sup> I have estimated the date of birth of 4 officers by assuming them to be 23, the average age, at the time of their graduation from West Point.

<sup>3</sup> *B. & L.*, p. 270. At Wilson's Creek the insignia of a General Officer's rank was a "stripe of some kind of colored cloth pinned to the shoulder." See: Evans, Clement A. (Editor) *Confederate Military History* (Atlanta: Confederate Publishing Co., 1899, 12 volumes), volume 9, (Missouri), p. 53. This work hereafter cited as *C.M.H.*, followed by the volume number, the geographical section, and the page number, as *C.M.H.*, IX, Missouri, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> This commission apparently expired prior to October 10, 1861, when in a letter to the Secretary of War explaining the disbandment of the troops recently under his command, he signed himself merely N. B. Pearce. (*O.R.*, 1, III, pp. 715-16).

<sup>5</sup> Not until the spring of 1864 did Grant, commander of all the Union Armies, become a Lieutenant General by Act of Congress (*O.R.*, 3, V, p. 496). In the C.S.A. generally speaking, corps commanders were Lieutenant Generals (F.B. Wiener, "Three Stars and Up," *Infantry Journal*, LVII (July, 1945), p. 34).

(1) Colonel Louis Hébert,<sup>6</sup> commanding the 3rd Louisiana Regiment. Son of a Louisiana planter, followed the military tradition of a distinguished relative to graduate third in the class of 1845 and qualify for a commission in the corps of Engineers. In 1846 he resigned his commission. Later he became a State Senator, and for five years was the Chief Engineer for Louisiana.

(2) Colonel James McIntosh, commanding the 2nd Arkansas Mounted Regiment and chief of staff to the commanding general. Son of a regular army colonel who fought the British in 1812; brother of a regular army officer who remained loyal to the Union. He graduated in the lower third of the class of 1849. In May 1861 he resigned the Federal service, hastened to the then Confederate Capital in Montgomery, Alabama, and laid before the War Department his plans for organization of forces in Arkansas. In battle he led by his own example—a sort of reckless bravery.

(3) Lieutenant Colonel James P. Major, commanding a battalion of cavalry in the Missouri State Guard. Missouri born and Missouri appointed, he graduated in the upper half of the class of 1856. He performed three years frontier duty with the distinguished 2nd U. S. Cavalry of which A. S. Johnson was colonel and R. E. Lee a Lieut. Colonel. Once near Wichita Village, Texas, Major killed three Comanche Indians with his own hands. Still in his twenties he cast his lot with the Confederacy; his resignation was accepted in March 1861 and he immediately joined Van Dorn in San Antonio.

(4) The remaining Confederate officer was Brigadier General Nicholas Bartlett Pearce. Kentuckian by birth and Arkansan by adoption, he graduated in 1850 near the middle of his class of 44. He served on the Kansas frontier before leaving with Captain Marcy on the Expedition to Texas. In 1858 he returned from the Utah Expedition and resigned his commission to manufacture flour at Osage Mill in Benton County, Arkansas. Despite his West Point background, "Bart" Pearce spoke and wrote the language of the Southwest frontier: "I tell you, general, this dog-on Indian business is enough to break up any government in the world."<sup>7</sup>

In May, 1861, the convention of Arkansas created him a brigadier and he immediately dispatched a letter informing Jefferson Davis of the event. He added: "We have no tactics in this State. Can you send us 500 copies of Hardee's 'Tactics'?"<sup>8</sup> Atop high ground on the day of battle the general looked through his glass and in the distance saw the familiar face

<sup>6</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1928-37), 20 volumes, volume 8, p. 492; cited hereafter as *D.A.B.*, followed by the volume and page numbers. Cullum, George W. *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy*. (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868), #1233; this work cited hereafter as *Cullum*, followed by the entry number. *C.M.H.*, X, Louisiana, pp. 161-62.

<sup>7</sup> *O.R.*, 1, XIII, p. 964.

<sup>8</sup> *O.R.*, 1, III, p. 576.



of a former West Point classmate riding alongside the Stars and Stripes unfurled. Terse was the command to his artillery officer: "Open on them." Young and soft spoken, once when reporting a battle scene he interposed: "Peace to the ashes of the dead and immortality to the names of the defenders of the lovely South."<sup>9</sup>

The Union West Pointers at Wilson's Creek included eleven officers of company grade; two officers of field grade; and one general officer. The list of officers and their command or staff functions follows:

#### COMPANY GRADE OFFICERS

1. Captain Joseph B. Plummer, Battalion, 1st U. S. Infantry<sup>10</sup>
2. Captain Frederick Steele, Battalion, 2nd U. S. Infantry<sup>11</sup>
3. Captain James Totten, Company, 2nd U. S. Artillery<sup>12</sup>
4. Captain Gordon Granger, Chief of Staff to Sturgis<sup>13</sup>
5. Captain C. C. Gilbert, Company, 1st U. S. Infantry<sup>14</sup>
6. Captain Daniel Huston, Company, 1st U. S. Infantry<sup>15</sup>
7. Captain Eugene A. Carr, Company, 1st U. S. Cavalry<sup>16</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>10</sup> Plummer entered the Academy from Massachusetts and graduated No. 22 in a class of 52 in 1841 (*Cullum*, #1080).

<sup>11</sup> Steele was graduated No. 30 in a class of 39 in 1843. U. S. Grant was a classmate and close companion at the Academy. After four years of garrison duty, he served in the War with Mexico where he engaged in five battles and was twice brevetted for gallant conduct (*D.A.B.*, XVII, p. 555; *Cullum* #1196; *Heitman*, Francis B. *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), p. 918. This work is hereafter cited as *Heitman*, followed by the pertinent page number.

<sup>12</sup> Totten was a Pennsylvanian appointed to the Academy from Virginia. Graduated near the middle of the class of 1841, the class of Plummer and Lyon (*Cullum* #1083). There is evidence that Totten desired to serve the C.S.A. (*O.R.* 1, III, p. 573). After Wilson's Creek his commanding officer recommends that "... Totten's name become a household word." (*O.R.*, 1, III, p. 70).

<sup>13</sup> Granger graduated No. 35 in the class of 1845. At 24 he had been brevetted to captain for gallantry in the War with Mexico. Before the end of the Civil War he held the distinction of being brevetted through all the ranks from Lieutenant to Major General. (*Cullum* #1265, *Heitman*, p. 469) Rosecrans considered Granger "Great in Battle." Wilson's Creek is a brilliant example (*O.R.*, 1, III, p. 69).

<sup>14</sup> Gilbert was the son of the first mayor of Zanesville, Ohio. Graduated No. 21 in the excellent class of 1846, and returned to teach geography at West Point. (*Cullum* #1292). *Heitman*, p. 455 makes no mention of Gilbert's service at Wilson's Creek. Actually he performed gallantly, being compelled to retire from the field because of a shoulder wound (*O.R.*, 1, III, pp. 78-9).

<sup>15</sup> Huston graduated in 1848 third from the bottom of his class. In June 1861, he left Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, to help organize the Home Guards of Kansas City, Missouri (*Cullum* #1403, *Heitman*, p. 559).

<sup>16</sup> Carr entered the Academy from New York at the age of 16. Graduated No. 19 in 44 in the class of 1850. On the frontier he was known to Indians as "War Eagle." Once he was severely wounded by an arrow in a fight with Lipan Indians. His services as a scout were legend. Frederic Remington says, "Carr would rather be a colonel of cavalry than Czar of Russia." (*Cullum* #1468, *D.A.B.*, III, pp. 516-17, United States Military Academy, Association of Graduates, *Bulletin* [1911], pp. 99-106.)

8. 1st Lieut. John DuBois, Battery, U. S. Rifles<sup>17</sup>
9. 1st Lieut. Joseph Conrad, Aide de Camp to Lyon<sup>18</sup>
10. 2nd Lieut. Charles Farrand, Company, 2nd Dragoons<sup>19</sup>
11. 2nd Lieut. George Sokalski, Assistant to Totten<sup>20</sup>

#### FIELD GRADE OFFICERS

1. Major Samuel D. Sturgis, Commanding, First Brigade

Sturgis was graduated No. 32 in the excellent class of 1846 which included T. J. Jackson, McClellan, and Pickett. Joined the 2nd Dragoons and fought at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. In 1851 he took a wife at West Ely, Missouri. He became a major in the 1st U. S. Cavalry of which R. E. Lee was colonel; J. E. B. Stuart a captain.

In early 1861 while in command at Fort Smith his officers left him to join the Confederacy.

At Wilson's Creek his brigade included a battalion commander (Plummer) who had graduated before he had entered the "Point", and a company commander (Gilbert) who had been a classmate.

2. Major John M. Schofield, Chief of Staff to Lyon

Schofield was once dismissed from West Point on a charge of "deviltry" and reinstated through the efforts of Stephen A. Douglas. In 1853 he graduated near the top of a distinguished class which included Phil Sheridan, John B. Hood, and James B. McPherson, his roommate. During his cadet days his ideal was the superintendent of the academy—R. E. Lee.

Fond of chewing tobacco and of red undershirts, this plump, balding officer was on a year's leave of absence as professor of Physics at Washington University in Saint Louis when the Civil War commenced. He helped organize the 1st Missouri volunteers and later became chief of staff to Lyon.

#### GENERAL OFFICER

- Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, Commanding Union Army of the West<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> DuBois graduated No. 10 in a class of 34 in 1855. (*Cullum* #1686, *Heitman* p. 385).

<sup>18</sup> Lyon had lost the services of his aide de camp, Joseph S. Conrad, No. 32 in the class of 1857, whose fate it was to be wounded early in the action (*Cullum* #1791).

<sup>19</sup> Farrand graduated second from the bottom in the class of 1857. At Wilson's Creek he soon learns that it is impossible to use cavalry in the underbrush. He states that he did no particular service. He is destined to remain a captain throughout the war (*Cullum*, #1795, *Heitman*, p. 414, *O.R.*, 1, III, p. 91).

<sup>20</sup> Sokalski graduated No. 40 in the class of 1861. His prior service consisted of drilling volunteers in Washington, D.C., however, his performance at Wilson's Creek was that of a seasoned veteran (*Cullum* #1927, *Heitman*, p. 907, *O.R.*, 1, III, pp. 74-75.)

<sup>21</sup> Peckham, James. *Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861* (New York: American News Co., 1866). Woodward, Ashbel. *Life of General Nathaniel Lyon* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Co., 1862). Both books are eulogistic. *D.A.B.*, XI, p. 534; Springfield, Missouri *Leader & Press*, September 29, 1928.



Entering the Academy from Connecticut at the age of nineteen, Lyon graduated No. 11 in the class of 1841, and went off to engage in the Florida hostilities. Four years of quiet garrison duty followed.

Lyon was short and slender, moved rapidly, and gave an impression of extreme nervousness. His hair was fair and his whiskers were red, which accentuated the blue light of his eyes. He was a lover of Shakespeare; yet his favorite study was Alexis de Tocqueville's "Democracy in America." A keen student of national politics, he frequently expressed his opinions. In 1844 he wrote that the policy of sending troops to the Texas frontier bore earmarks of "madness and folly." However, fighting under General Scott two years later, he was brevetted captain for gallantry at Contreras-Churubusco, helped storm Molino del Rey, and at the capture of Mexico City, was shot in the leg at the Belen Gate. Following this he served five years in California, then was transferred to Kansas. Once in a Manhattan (Kansas) paper he referred to President Buchanan as a "Blue-eyed old hypocrite."

In the pro-union city of Saint Louis, Lyon, a militant Unionist, became allied with F. P. Blair, Jr. in the interest of stamping out the secessionist movement headed by Governor Claiborn Jackson and Sterling Price. Once the bewhiskered Lyon borrowed a dress, muffled up his beard in a shawl and sunbonnet, and went through the annual state militia encampment in Lindell's Grove to confirm his suspicion that the camp was a "hot bed of secessionists."

Ordered to Jefferson Barracks, from February until June, 1861, he commanded the forces for the defense of the government Arsenal in St. Louis. Lyon captured Camp Jackson, took command in the field, and on June 13th went up the Missouri to destroy the state troops. Arriving at Jefferson City, he found they had withdrawn toward Boonville. In pursuit he debarked at Rocheport and within a few hours occupied Boonville. The state troops under General Sterling Price withdrew to Cowskin Prairie in the southwest corner of the state, Lyon not following. Soon there came intelligence reports that large forces under Generals Ben McCulloch and N. B. Pearce in Arkansas were preparing to join Price's Missourians and that their objective would be Springfield.

Lyon departed from Camp Cameron with 2354 troops, proceeded to Clinton and Osceola where on July 4th he united with 2200 regulars and volunteers under Sturgis and soon learned of Sigel's retreat at Carthage.<sup>22</sup> He marched next to Springfield, where on July 16th he established headquarters for the Army of the West and commenced the task of supply and training.

Meanwhile, McCulloch and Pearce joined Price near Cassville and on July 29th issued orders to march upon Lyon at Springfield. On August

<sup>22</sup> Lyon's dispatch to Sigel dated July 6, 1861 (In the writer's possession, as Trustee for Nancy Jess).

2nd their advance guard drew Lyon from his base and skirmishing occurred at Dug Springs and on the day following at McCulla's store. Lyon, now twenty-four miles southwest of Springfield, seemed convinced that Confederate strategy was designed to draw him deeper from his base, proceed by a northern route upon Springfield, turn his force, sever his line of communication, and eventually destroy his army.<sup>23</sup>

Lyon wrote: "Prudence seems now to indicate the necessity of withdrawing, if possible . . . [to Springfield, thence to] . . . St. Louis via Rolla." Opposed to his force of 5868, Lyon estimated the Confederates to be 24,000.

Lyon effected a successful withdrawal to Springfield, (the Confederates following to within ten miles south) halted and established camp close to the ripening corn in the bottom land along Wilson's Creek.

On the evening of August 8th Lyon called a Council of War and said:<sup>24</sup> "I propose to march this evening with all our available force . . . and marching by the Fayetteville road, throw our whole force upon the enemy at once and endeavor to rout him before he can recover from his surprise." The plan was accepted, but execution delayed one day for the reason that a large part of the command had just returned from a fatiguing scout, and had not eaten since early morning; moreover, shoes had recently arrived from Rolla and must be issued.<sup>25</sup>

The battle plan actually executed, at the insistence of Sigel, was changed. The plan was a departure from accepted principles but agreed to by Lyon because of Sigel's supposedly superior ability and wide experience.<sup>26</sup>

Thus did Lyon's plan prescribe a desperate thrust. What, then, are the factors which determined Lyon to reverse his former plan of withdrawal to Rolla and substitute instead a divided attack upon his adversary whom he believed to hold a numerical superiority of five to one?<sup>27</sup>

*The Supply Factor:* When Lyon arrived at Springfield from North Missouri, he found absolutely no supplies. Arms, ammunition, and provisions requisitioned before his departure from Boonville lay in the supply depot at Rolla, terminus of the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad. Lyon wrote Harding on July 2nd, 1861:

I hope to move tomorrow . . . to Springfield. My force will be about 2400 men. Major Sturgis will have about 2200 men, and you know what force has gone to

<sup>23</sup> O.R., 1, III, pp. 11-14, 47, 98, 102, 389, 395.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 96, 99.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>26</sup> John M. Schofield, *Forty Six Years in the Army* (New York: Century Co., 1897) pp. 42-43.

<sup>27</sup> Union intelligence went far afield. Lyon estimated Confederate strength to be 24,000 (O.R., 1, III, p. 48). Months after the battle, Schofield and Sturgis flatly stated that there were 22,000 Confederates at Wilson's Creek (O.R., 1, III, pp. 94, 69).

Springfield from Saint Louis, so that you can see what amount of provision we shall want supplied at that point.<sup>28</sup>

The stoppage of supply was a result of faulty administration. To Springfield, 125 miles distant, the supplies must pass by wagon train over a rugged, broken, and water-streaked terrain. The Western Department believed it necessary to use two regiments to maintain this hazardous line of communication.<sup>29</sup>

Lyon's quartermaster, confronted with the problem of local procurement, found that heavy rains prevented the threshing of wheat and that secessionist millers refused to grind. It became necessary to call upon the Home Guards at Greenfield, Dade County, to grind and furnish the essential flour.<sup>30</sup>

Less than half rations was the fare. Much of the time there was no coffee, sugar, or flour. Worst of all, many of the troops were shoeless and unable to march. A staff officer says: "To all . . . appeals for aid no favorable response was received."<sup>31</sup>

*The Troops Factor:* On July 15th Lyon's Army of the West could muster 7000 troops. Of these, one half were three months volunteers eligible for discharge between the 9th and 18th of August. None of them had been paid, nor would they be in the next six weeks. It was as Schofield said: "[The volunteers] have become disheartened to such extent that few of them are willing to renew their enlistment."<sup>32</sup>

On July 16th Lyon received General Scott's War Department Order directing that the 2nd Infantry be removed to the East.<sup>33</sup> Lyon felt that in addition to boosting morale in his own command the presence of his regular army troops held the Confederates in check. To the order Lyon dispatched a dilatory reply: ". . . I have felt justified in delaying [execution of the order] for further instructions from the department so far as the troops with me are concerned."<sup>34</sup>

Three times within the past month Lyon had requested that 10,000 troops be sent him at Springfield. The requisitions went unfilled. Now

<sup>28</sup> O.R., 1, III, p. 388. A depot had been established at Rolla on June 23, 1861 according to O.R., 1, III, p. 3, and *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 402-3, 390.

<sup>30</sup> John K. Hulston, *Vedette* (Greenfield, Mo.) 1945, volume 80, No. 6, concerning the Hulston Mill and the Sac River in Dade County, Missouri.

<sup>31</sup> O.R., 1, III, pp. 47, 58, 408, 411. Colonel Thomas L. Sneed gives this account of the Confederate's lack of supply: "We had no tents, it is true, but tents would only have been in our way . . . the ripening cornfields were our depots of subsistence; the prairies furnished forage, and the people in defense of whose homes we were eager to fight gladly gave us of all their stores." (*B. & L.*, p. 270).

<sup>32</sup> Lyon to Townsend, dated July 17, 1861: "They had no pay for their services . . . their clothing dilapidated. . . . But for these facts they would probably nearly all have re-enlisted." (O.R., 1, III, pp. 395-98).

<sup>33</sup> Special Order No. 112, Hdqs. of Army, Washington, D.C., dated July 5, 1861.

<sup>34</sup> O.R., 1, III, p. 398.

Washington ordered two companies of his regulars to the East. When the news of the Union defeat at First Bull Run came, it was obvious that he would receive no reinforcements.

Meanwhile, intelligence reports came in telling of a great increase in men, horses, and equipage among the Confederates. Hardee, it was rumored, marched toward Wilson's Creek with 9000 Confederate troops.<sup>35</sup>

*The Political Factor:* Major General John C. Fremont, in response to a telegram that Lyon was threatened by 30,000 Confederates, left New York for Saint Louis and assumed command of the Western Department on July 25, 1861. Upon his arrival Lyon's aide de camp met with him for the purpose of informing him concerning the situation at Springfield and of offering an urgent plea for reinforcements.<sup>36</sup> Fremont doubtless realized that Springfield was the key to the whole southwestern part of Missouri; that it commanded an area of nearly 60,000 square miles; that it would be a likely base from which a return could be made to the Union Missouri River line. To President Lincoln he wrote in effect that if Springfield fell, St. Louis would be endangered.<sup>37</sup>

If Lyon was to have relief five courses of action were open to Fremont: (1) Push forward to Springfield the two regiments now disposed around Rolla guarding the line of communications. (2) Withdraw at least four regiments from General Pope's command in North Missouri, transport them by rail from St. Louis to Rolla, then by forced march to Springfield. At this time Pope's command consisted of nine regiments.<sup>38</sup> (3) From Fort Leavenworth move Montgomery's regiment by forced march to Springfield.<sup>39</sup> (4) Call upon the Governors of Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa to send organized and available forces, artillery and arms, to St. Louis.<sup>40</sup> (5) Establish confidential relations between the Western Department and Lyon's headquarters at Springfield.<sup>41</sup>

Fremont failed to pursue any of these measures in time to be of aid to Lyon. Rather, he said "General Lyon is as strong as any other officer on this line."<sup>42</sup> And later he stated, "If he does [fight at Springfield] he will do it on his own responsibility."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 58, 94, 96, 394, 396, 408, 425, 447; Richmond, Va. *Dispatch* April 21, 1901. Hardee was at Pitman's Ferry, Arkansas, within a few hundred yards of the Missouri line (*B. & L.*, p. 270).

<sup>36</sup> General Order No. Hdqrs. Western Department, St. Louis, Missouri, July 25, 1861.

<sup>37</sup> See Fremont's "Disposition for Retaking Springfield" in *O.R.*, 1, III, p. 551, and also *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 417.

<sup>38</sup> *O.R.*, 1, III, pp. 402, 545. It was not until August 13th that four regiments were withdrawn and sent to Rolla.

<sup>39</sup> Fremont eventually did this by order dated August 4, 1861 (*O.R.*, 1, III, p. 425).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398.

<sup>41</sup> No telegraph existed between Springfield and St. Louis throughout the entire Civil War (*O.R.*, 3, V, pp. 361-5).

<sup>42</sup> Spoken to Gov. Hamilton R. Gamble (*O.R.*, 1, III, p. 545).

<sup>43</sup> Fremont stated, "... I returned to St. Louis on August 4th. Meantime I had ordered Stevenson's 7th Missouri Regiment from Boonville, and Montgomery's

On August 6th Fremont recalled four regiments from Pope's command in North Missouri to report to St. Louis. They were sent not to Rolla nor Springfield, but to Cairo.<sup>44</sup> There was complete lack of confidence between Lyon and Fremont. Several hours after Lyon made his decision to attack, formulated the plan, and in fact, was busy inspecting his command to determine their state of preparation for the attack, Lyon wrote Fremont:

I find my position extremely embarrassing, and am at present unable to determine whether I shall be able to maintain my ground or be forced to retire. I can resist attack from the front, but if the enemy move to surround me, I must retire. I shall hold my ground as long as possible, though I may, without knowing how far, endanger the safety of my entire force. . . .<sup>45</sup>

Schofield, writing 36 years after the event, states that actually Fremont instructed Lyon to fall back toward Rolla until reinforcements should meet him, but because public opinion was so strong that Lyon's fight at Wilson's Creek was a necessity, Fremont refused to acknowledge that he had given such an order and that Lyon should have obeyed the order.<sup>46</sup>

*The Strategy Factor:* Striking a successful blow would insure a successful retreat. To withdraw without first delivering a thrust might invite the Confederate mounted men to throw themselves to Lyon's front while foot soldiers pressed his rear. Terrain over which Lyon's army must pass on the way to Rolla was ill suited to rapid movement and maneuver.<sup>47</sup>

*The Personal Factor:* Lyon felt a sense of moral responsibility to the Unionists of Missouri. To leave them without a fight would, as Lyon wrote to Army Headquarters in Washington on July 17, lead to a situation in which "loyal citizens will be unprotected, repressed treason will assume alarming boldness . . . will peril the continued ascendancy of the Federal power itself, not only in the State, but in the whole West."<sup>48</sup>

The night before the battle on the road to Wilson's Creek, Lyon *en bivouac* shared a rubber coat with his chief of staff and spoke clearly of his responsibility to the citizens of southwest Missouri. Schofield says:<sup>49</sup> [This night he] ". . . was oppressed with the responsibility of his situation, with anxiety for the cause, and with sympathy for the Union people of that section, when he should retreat and leave to their fate those who could not forsake their homes."

Distressing, indeed, was Scott's order withdrawing to the East the

Kansas regiment near Leavenworth, to the support of Lyon at Springfield." (B. & L., p. 281; C.M.H., IX, Missouri, p. 54).

<sup>44</sup> O.R., 1, III, pp. 428-29, 545.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>46</sup> Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>47</sup> Nowhere is found authority to substantiate a theory that Lyon and his officers ever believed they might destroy or contain their adversary (O.R., 1, III, p. 96).

<sup>48</sup> O.R., 1, III, p. 398.

<sup>49</sup> B. & L., pp. 292-93.



companies of his former parent regiment, the 2nd Infantry. Now they would fight in Virginia. Lyon made the comment: "... strange that so many troops must go on from the West and strip us of the means of defense. But if it is the intention to give up the West, let it be so; it can only be the victim of imbecility or malice. Scott will cripple us if he can."<sup>50</sup>

To Congressman Phelps, Lyon wrote: "The safety of the State is hazarded; orders from Gen. Scott strip entire West of regular forces, and increase the chances of sacrificing it."<sup>51</sup>

Lyon repeatedly expressed himself as having been abandoned by his superiors. Lyon believed himself the victim of deliberate sacrifice to another's ambition. Not knowing where to turn, he summarized his plight: "Everything seems to combine against me at this point."<sup>52</sup>

The one heartening factor to Lyon was that the nucleus of his command was regular army troops. After the manner of tradition, the professional soldier is not given to retreat without first a fight. Lyon determined to fight. The time was at hand.

The organization of Confederate and Union forces at the Battle of Wilson's Creek was as follows:<sup>53</sup>

Confederate	Union
Ben McCulloch, commanding	N. Lyon, commanding
Pearce's Brigade	Lyon's column:
McCulloch's Brigade	Sturgis' Brigade
Price's Missourians	Andrews' Brigade
Rains' Command	Deitzler's Brigade
McBride's Command	Sigel's Column:
Slack's Command	Sigel's Brigade
Parsons' Command	Total strength: 5,400
Clark's Cavalry	16 guns
Total strength: 10,175	
15 guns	

Interesting indeed is the dramatic parallel of events at the Union camps

<sup>50</sup> O.R., 1, III, p. 397.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>52</sup> B. & L., pp. 292-93; O.R., 1, III, p. 397; Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>53</sup> B. & L., pp. 306-07; O.R., 1, III, pp. 65, 104-05. Impressive is the abundance of Official Reports concerning the battle of Wilson's Creek: 40 officers—27 C.S.A. and 13 U.S.A.—rendered 43 reports on the average of 4 days time passage between the battle and the report. Compare the Battle of New Market, Va., in 1864, similar to Wilson's Creek in numbers engaged and time length, where only 8 reports ensued.

Two excellent accounts of the battle in private print are as follows: (1) L. E. Meador, in the souvenir program on the occasion of the seventy-seventh anniversary of the battle. (2) Lucile Morris Upton, reprinted from articles in the *Springfield News and Leader* on the occasion of the purchase of the "Bloody Hill" site by the Wilson's Creek Battlefield Foundation, Inc., in 1950. See also: Return L. Holcombe, *An Account of the Battle of Wilson's Creek* (Springfield, Mo., Dow & Adams, 1883).

in Springfield and at Wilson's Creek 10 miles to the southwest.

### Union

Afternoon 9 August Lyon issued orders to attack the Confederates at Wilson's Creek; Sigel to attack the right flank; Lyon to attack the left flank. 5:00 P.M. Lyon's column of three brigades departed Springfield, moving west on the Little York road. 6:30 P.M. Sigel's column departed Camp Fremont on south side of Springfield, moving south on the Yonkermill road.<sup>54</sup>

By 9:00 P.M. Lyon's column completed a detour to the north of the Little York road, and now turned southwest across the prairie toward Wilson's Creek. Sigel's column after following the Yonkermill road for five miles, moved southwest into wooded area, and halted at 11:00 P.M.<sup>57</sup>

By 1:00 A.M. Lyon's column arrived in view of Confederate camp fires, having completely turned the Confederate left. Lyon halted and went *en bivouac*.<sup>58</sup>

By 4:30 A.M. Sigel came within about 1000 yards of Wilson's Creek, having turned the Confederate right. Now the entire Confederate force lay between Sigel and

### Confederate

Afternoon 9 August, McCulloch yielded to Price's demand for attack. Orders were issued to march at 9:00 P.M. in four separate columns, so as to surround Springfield and simultaneously attack at daybreak. Confederate camp astir, moulding bullets, dividing percussion caps, fitting new flints to their muskets.<sup>55</sup>

At 9:00 P.M. McCulloch countermanded his march order and gave as reasons: (a) Light or threatened rain; (b) Lack of cartridge boxes in which to keep ammunition dry. Troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march on short notice.<sup>56</sup>

By 1:00 A.M. all pickets were recalled in the anticipation that the night march might be undertaken; the threat of rain apparently vanished.<sup>59</sup>

By 4:30 A.M. the Confederates had given up hope of taking up the march, however, many troops remained in position in line of march on the road. Many were returning

<sup>54</sup> O.R., 1, III, pp. 65, 86.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104; B. & L., p. 299.

<sup>56</sup> O.R., 1, III, p. 104; Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886), p. 268; McCulloch (O.R., 1, III, p. 104) and Rains (O.R., 1, III, p. 127) indicate that a light rain fell. Price (O.R., 1, III, p. 99) and Pearce (B. & L., p. 299) state that rain merely threatened.

<sup>57</sup> B. & L., pp. 291, 304; O.R., 1, III, p. 89. An interesting might-have-been arises from a study of the routes covered by Lyon and Sigel on their approach march to Wilson's Creek. If McCulloch had left Wilson's Creek at 9:00 P.M. via the Fayetteville Road, daybreak might have found the Confederates surrounding Springfield, the Union forces poised to strike at Wilson's Creek, and each totally ignorant of the other's changed position.

<sup>58</sup> O.R., 1, III, p. 127.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

Lyon. Lyon resumed the approach march, sending Plummer's regulars in advance.<sup>61</sup>

By 5:30 A.M. Sigel's forces were deployed: (a) Artillery formed in battery on a small hill east of the creek to command Churchill's camp 500 yards distant; (b) Infantry across the creek and moving up the west bank toward the Fayetteville road; (c) Cavalry guarding the flanks.<sup>62</sup>

Lyon, his position now discovered, was about four miles north of Sigel. Lyon sent skirmishers to the right and left; hastened the 1st Missouri to support Totten's battery; and ordered Plummer to cross the creek and move toward the front, keeping pace with his advance on the east bank.<sup>63</sup>

By 6:00 A.M. Lyon moved forward at double quick; Totten's battery went into action. Sigel heard the musketry and recalled Lyon's order: "Wait until you hear firing

to their camps and commencing preparations for a hot breakfast.

All were fatigued from loss of the night's sleep together with the suspense of waiting. Rains decided to return his pickets to their outposts on the Confederate north flank.<sup>64</sup>

5:00 A.M. Rains' pickets observed Lyon's approach on the western side of Wilson's Creek about three miles north of Rains' camp.<sup>65</sup>

By 5:30 A.M. neither Price nor McCulloch, who was now at Price's headquarters, had cause to suspect that Lyon had left Springfield. Up galloped a foam covered horse carrying an excited courier who gave a startling alarm: Lyon approached with 20,000 men and 100 pieces of artillery, less than a mile away!<sup>66</sup>

By 6:00 A.M. McCulloch and McIntosh galloped to the eastern side of the creek to organize their troops for the impending fight. Price ordered the generals com-

<sup>60</sup> Rains (*O.R.*, 1, III, p. 127) states "... [I] drew in my pickets with a view to take up the line of march that evening by 9:00 P.M." Apparently Rains did not return his pickets until daylight.

<sup>61</sup> *B. & L.*, p. 304; *O.R.*, 1, III, p. 72.

<sup>62</sup> *O.R.*, 1, III, p. 127.

<sup>63</sup> It seems probable that two women spies who passed the Federal lines at Springfield on the afternoon of August 9th brought to Confederate headquarters accurate intelligence as to the Union strength (*B. & L.*, pp. 298-99).

<sup>64</sup> *O.R.*, 1, III, pp. 86-7.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65-6.



on our side;" Sigel commanded his battery to open on the Confederate camp.<sup>66</sup>

manding the Missourians to move their infantry and artillery forward; then he hastened to rally a brigade which was falling back over the brow of Bloody Hill.<sup>67</sup>

Lyon commenced deployment of the Union regiments. From the summit of the wooded hill the Union advance would be south. Lyon sent the 1st Missouri to the right, farthest to the west, and ordered the 2nd Kansas to support. Sixty yards to the left hastened the 1st Kansas, and following was the 1st Iowa. To the center Totten moved his guns and went into battery on the crest of the ridge.<sup>68</sup> Eighty yards to the left and rear of Totten's guns, DuBois placed his guns.

At the foot of the southern slope of Bloody Hill about 300 yards distant, concealed by the foliage and underbrush, Price developed an anxious and nervous battle line. Price's extended line resembled a rambling quarter moon. To form the tips of the huge crescent, McBride moved to the extreme left, farthest to the west; Rains to the extreme right, farthest to the east. Clark held the center, Parsons to his left and Slack to his right. Over 3000 Missourians, massed for battle, awaited Price's decision. Meanwhile, Woodruff's battery on the bluff east of the creek ford engaged Totten in the first fierce artillery duel of the morning.<sup>69</sup>

Lyon's battle line poised for the "Forward, March!" to keynote the offensive. Meanwhile Plummer, executing his previous order to protect the Union left flank, overtook Gilbert's advance Union skirmishers seemingly bogged down in the swampy ground, and as yet unable to pass over the creek. When once the obstacle was passed, they emerged into a cornfield along the east bank of the creek about 800 yards due east of the crest of Bloody Hill. Plummer dispersed his troops behind the stout rail fence enclosing the field of corn; it was now about 7:30 A.M.

McIntosh leading his own dismounted 2nd Arkansas and Hébert's gray clad 3rd Louisiana, closed for battle against Plummer's elements of McIntosh's old regular army regiment, commanded by three former fellow officers. Moving north down the eastern side of the creek and crossing the Fayetteville road, McIntosh came into a dense thicket which offered some protection from Plummer's grape shot and shells, being fired within fifteen paces in some instances. At the head of the Confederates McIntosh ordered, "Charge!" and vaulted the rail fence. The Confederates

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 87.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100; Snead, *op. cit.*, p. 273; Woodruff's Little Rock Battery was composed of guns which had been captured at the seizure of the Little Rock Arsenal, of which Totten had been in command. Woodruff and his gunners had, in fact, been drilled and instructed by Totten (*B. & L.*, p. 292).

# CONFEDERATE TROOPS ENGAGED ON BLOODY HILL

	Strength	Casualties
Missouri State Guard	12	3
General and Staff	11	1
1. Rains' Command	720	135
Weightman's Brig. (two reg'ts)	600	79
Cawthon's Brig. (dismounted)	8	49
2. Parson's Command	142	14
Kelly's Reg't	61	2
Guibor's Battery (four guns)	9	98
3. Clark's Command	270	6
Burbidge Reg't	6	142
4. Slack's Command	650	70
Hughes' Reg't and Thornton's Bn.	3	0
5. McBride's Command	605	146
Foster & Wingo's Reg'ts	3198	680
Total	500	179
Arkansas Troops	571	111
Churchill's Reg't	1071	308
Gratiot's Reg't and Woodruff's Battery 4 guns	3168	680
Total	1071	308
Missourians	4239	988
Confederates on Bloody Hill	3550	983
Union Force on Bloody Hill		
Confederate Forces which Fought East of Creek		
3rd Louisiana Col. Hebert	700	57
McIntosh's Reg't	400	54
Total	1100	111
Confederate Forces which were only slightly engaged: 4736.		
Infantry: Graves' Reg't (Mo.); Rosser's Com'd (Mo.); McRae's Bn. (Ark.); Dockery's Reg't (Ark.); Walker's Reg't (Ark.); Mounted Men: Missourians, 1447; Texans, 800; Arkansans, 390. Artillery: Reid's Bat., 4 guns; Bledsoe's Bat., 3		

# UNION FORCES AT WILSON'S CREEK LYON'S COLUMN

Element	Commanding	Strength	Casualties
1st Mo. Vols.	Lt. Col. G. L. Andrews	775	295
Osterhaus Battalion	Maj. P. J. Osterhaus	150	55
1st Iowa Inf.	Lt. Col. W. H. Merritt	800	154
1st Kan. Inf.	Col. G. W. Deitzler	900	284
2nd Kan. Inf.	Col. R. B. Mitchell	600	70
Steele's Battalion	Capt. F. Steele	275	61
Totten's Battery (3 guns)	Capt. J. Totten	84	11
DuBois Battery (4 guns)	Lt. J. V. DuBois	66	8
Total on Bloody Hill		3550	933
Troops East of Creek			
Plummer's Battalion	Capt. J. B. Plummer	300	80
Co. D	Lt. C. W. Canfield		
U.S. Cav. Kan. Mtd.	Capt. H. C. Wood	350	7
Rangers Squadron	Capt. C. Wright		
Home Guards			
Total Lyons Column		4200	1080
Sigell's Column	Col. F. Sigell		
3rd Reg't			
Mo. Vols.			
5th Reg't	Col. C. E. Salomon	1075	298
Mo. Vols.	Lt. Schaefer		
Lt. Battery	Lt. Schuetzenbach		
6 guns			
Co. I	Capt. E. A. Carr	65	4
1st U.S. Cav.	Lt. C. E. Farrand	60	0
Co. C			
2nd U.S. Cav.		1200	297
Total Sigell's Column		1200	297

scrambled over and under. For a few minutes the fighting was fierce, often it was hand to hand. Plummer's command was swept from the field, retiring across the creek and making off toward Lyon's main body now engaged in a mad melee on the wooded hillside.<sup>70</sup> DuBois' battery on the eastern brow of the hill effectively covered Plummer's withdrawal. Plummer, safely to the rear of Totten's battery, apprised of the severity of his wound, unable to keep his saddle, turned over the command to Huston.

McIntosh now faced the 3rd Louisiana to the right and marched them by the flank across the ford, up the valley in front of Sigel, who lay deployed at Sharp's farm.<sup>71</sup> Across the road he had sent the 3rd and 5th Missouri regiments, out on the flanks was the cavalry, and a six gun battery was posted on high ground. So certain was Sigel that Lyon would succeed on Bloody Hill that he chose to await his opportunity to cut to pieces the retreating Confederates.

Shortly before 9:00 A.M. a courier reported to Sigel that Lyon's troops were coming up the Fayetteville road and through a glass he observed that they were dressed in gray. Undoubtedly they were the 1st Iowa. "Cease Fire!" ordered Sigel, and his command stood ready to greet their victorious comrades. On they marched in perfect formation, now less than 30 paces distant. Then suddenly the gray clad 3rd Louisianians opened a deadly rifle fire. Two Confederate batteries fired shot and shell at point blank range, and a battalion of Missourians broke through the brush to charge the surprised Federal battery. Surprise was complete. Even now the cry went through the Union ranks, "Lyon's troops are firing upon us."<sup>72</sup> Confusion soon became rout. Carr's regular cavalry made off; Far-land withdrew his dragoons.<sup>73</sup>

Thus began the frequently discussed rout of General Franz Sigel. In hot pursuit rode James P. Major, heading up elements of Missouri cavalry and "Dead Shot" Texas Rangers.

The immediate effect of Sigel's collapse was that by 10:00 A.M. Pearce, McIntosh, and Hébert could consolidate their troops for action in the raging battle on Bloody Hill.

Atop the wooded summit, Lyon summoned to the front every available

<sup>70</sup> O.R., 1, III, pp. 72-3.

<sup>71</sup> Sharp's farm was the slaughtering place for Confederates. Cattle on the hoof and fresh killed carcasses were in abundance when Sigel took the place (*Ibid.*, p. 87).

<sup>72</sup> The 5 guns which were captured became a source of dispute among the Confederate leaders following the battle. McCulloch demanded them because the Louisiana regiment had routed Sigel, and Price ordered them turned over. Months later McCulloch complained that horses and harness had been retained (McCulloch to Benjamin, dated Dec. 22, 1861, O.R., 1, III, p. 746).

<sup>73</sup> Accused of deserting Sigel during the retreat to Springfield, Carr spoke in defense, "... infantry and artillery should at least march as fast as the ordinary walk of my horses . . . I was much surprised and pained to find that he was not up." (O.R., 1, III, p. 90).

Union Battalion. Down below, Pearce and Price were disposing the 3rd Arkansas. Price, forsaking the stiff language of the era, sought to rally the troops by saying a few words: "You will soon be in a pretty hot place, men! but I will be near you, and I will take care of you; keep as cool as the inside of a cucumber and give them thunder."<sup>74</sup>

The engagement at once became general along the entire Union line. Confederates appeared in three and four ranks, lying down, kneeling, standing, all determined to be in at the kill. Grape, canister, and shell tore gaping holes in the opposing lines, lines often less than 30 yards apart, and not more than a thousand yards in length. The Confederates, Arkansans to the left, Texas and Louisiana troops to the right, and Missourians in the center, all seemed to direct their attack upon Totten's battery.<sup>75</sup>

Lyon, twice wounded during the morning, now hastened to the rear to replace his horse which had been killed. Lyon appeared to be despondent and weary. To Schofield he said, "Major, I am afraid the day is lost." An orderly quickly was dismounted, to give Lyon a horse, and touching its flank, Lyon rode toward Totten's battery. Totten, seeing blood trickling down the side of Lyon's face, offered his brandy filled canteen. Lyon refused. Instructions followed: Totten must give the Union right more support. Sokalski was sent limbering his section.

Lyon now gathered troops of the 1st Iowa and the 2nd Kansas around him, raised his hat high into the air and commanded, "I will lead you, come on, brave men!"<sup>76</sup> Their charge was successful, but the cost was high. Lyon took a ball in the breast and fell from his horse into the arms of his orderly. No time for the well rounded dying phrase; it was merely, "Lehman, I am killed."<sup>77</sup>

Schofield returned from leading eight companies of the 1st Iowa in a successful charge,<sup>78</sup> ordered Lyon's body to be quietly carried to the rear. To those present he gave warning to say nothing about what they had seen.

Now, as if in silent tribute to the fallen Union general deep silence fell upon the smoking field while the two armies, unseen by each other, re-organized for another charge.<sup>79</sup>

Sturgis, informed of Lyon's death, assumed command of the Union

<sup>74</sup> Snead, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

<sup>75</sup> O.R., 1, III, p. 61.

<sup>76</sup> Lurton D. Ingersoll, *Iowa and the Rebellion* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1868) and Eugene F. Ware, *The Lyon Campaign in Missouri* (Topeka: Crane and Co., 1907) dispute the claims made by the 2nd Kansas.

<sup>77</sup> Schofield, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-5.

<sup>78</sup> Schofield was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for leading this charge (U.S. Adjutant General's Office. *American Decorations* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1927), p. 95).

<sup>79</sup> B. & L., p. 296.

army and summoned the principal officers for consultation. All agreed that retreat was necessary, but questioned whether it was possible. An even greater dilemma presented itself: Where was Sigel? No word had come throughout the morning. If Sigel should suddenly appear and strike the Confederate rear or flank, then the day might be saved. Would it be worth a chance to detour to the left and attempt to join Sigel?

Before a final decision could be reached, hope was revived. From the position where Sigel's cannonading was last heard came a large force of infantry. The word passed that they resembled Sigel's men in dress; that they carried the Union flag. Hope quickly vanished when the shrill rebel yell was heard and a Confederate battery opened with canister and shrapnel. Immediately there commenced along the entire line the fiercest and bloodiest fighting of the day. DuBois' battery on the Union left silenced the Confederate battery and moved forward to strike the right wing, while Totten played from the Union center. Smoke from the opposing battle lines, less than 30 feet apart, seemed to be from but one. The Confederates rolled back the Union right as the 2nd Kansas withdrew. Steele's battalion of regulars filled the gap, and once again the Union line was intact. The Confederates retired and a lull followed.<sup>80</sup>

Sturgis now weighed the facts: Lyon dead . . . Sigel's position unknown . . . ammunition low . . . water gone . . . odds numerically unfavorable . . . troops exhausted.<sup>81</sup> Sturgis issued the order to retreat to Springfield and sent DuBois' guns rearward toward a hill to cover the movement.

Before the main body could be formed into column, however, up galloped Sturgis' chief of staff, Gordon Granger, who twice this morning had countermanded orders of his superiors,<sup>82</sup> and who had twice been vindicated by the results. Now he urged Sturgis to countermand the retreat order. At this dramatic moment there arrived one of Sigel's non-commissioned officers to report that Sigel had long since been routed; that Sigel had lost all his guns. Retreat by the Union forces was inevitable.<sup>83</sup>

While the Confederates demonstrated upon the Union right, Sturgis took advantage of the natural concealment to draw off his command. It was several minutes later that Confederate staff officers reached the crest

<sup>80</sup> Regular army sergeants led three of Steele's companies into battle; their performance equalled that of the company officer on the field (*O.R.*, 1, III, p. 79). Cullum #1196 erroneously states that Steele commanded a brigade at Wilson's Creek.

<sup>81</sup> Significant is the fact that Union troops ate no breakfast prior to battle (Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 46); a fact that may have determined which side first would give way.

<sup>82</sup> *O.R.*, 1, III, p. 80 (Lyon's order to DuBois); *Ibid.*, p. 79 (Sturgis' order to Steele).

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69; Schofield maintained that retreat was an error because of the Union failure to estimate the effect of their last charge upon the Confederates (Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 46).

of Bloody Hill to watch through their glasses the Union column in retreat. Pearce voiced the obvious: [we] "... were glad to see him go."<sup>84</sup> Price urged McCulloch to give the order to pursue. McCulloch chose not to follow.

McCulloch's reasons for inaction seem to have been:<sup>85</sup> (1) He considered the Missourians officered by politicians who exercised no discipline, nor attempted any military organization. (2) Camp followers and unarmed soldiers were in Price's camp despite the Cassville Order which prohibited them to come nearer than one day's march of the rear of the column. (3) McCulloch considered that his troops might "as well be in Boston as far as friendly feelings of inhabitants are concerned."

All in all, the seventeen West Pointers surviving Wilson's Creek engaged in combat more than 100 times upon 70 different fields of battle which gave direction to a campaign or in themselves were significant. Official records disclose 30 official citations of gallantry in action sufficient to warrant the actor a brevet to a next higher rank.

Plummer, Farrand, and Sokalski failed to gain a brevet. In Sokalski's case it is difficult to understand since he was recommended No. 6 in Fremont's report of Wilson's Creek.

Schofield commanded the Army of the Ohio and Steele commanded the Army of Arkansas. Granger headed up the IV Corps, Army of the Cumberland, and Gilbert led the III Corps, Army of the Ohio. Five of the officers became Division Commanders: Sturgis, 2nd Division, IX Army Corps; Carr, 3rd Division XVI Army Corps; Hébert, 1st Division, Army of the West; Major, Division of Texas Cavalry; Plummer, 5th Division, District of Miss.

McIntosh commanded the 1st Brigade of McCulloch's Division and Huston commanded the 1st Brigade of the Army of the Frontier.

Pearce ceased to command soon after Wilson's Creek, preferring Commissary duty and later became, perhaps, too intimate with speculators from Fort Smith.<sup>86</sup>

Totten became Chief of Artillery and Ordnance, Army of West Miss. and DuBois became Chief of Cavalry, Department of Missouri.

The good company and field grade officers under the test of fire on August 10, 1861, became good general officers in 1863; however, from any initial test of battle these same officers doubtless would have emerged good leaders.

The immediate importance of the battle, however, were the lessons freshly learned. Here was clearly demonstrated: (1) The folly of a com-

<sup>84</sup> *B. & L.*, p. 303.

<sup>85</sup> *O.R.*, 1, III, pp. 672, 102. See letter to Benjamin (*Ibid.*, pp. 743-49) wherein the entire controversy is outlined.

<sup>86</sup> *O.R.*, 1, XXII, pt. 2, p. 884.



plicated plan of battle attack calling for a division of forces, lack of communications and an independent command; (2) an orderly and safe withdrawal can be a wiser course than hazarding battle on unequal terms; (3) A general officer should not play the role of a captain of infantry, lest he sacrifice his life. (4) That as the lack of a hot breakfast may determine which line will first give way, so may the lack of distinguishable uniforms cause a rout. (5) That the rigors of frontier life developed in the private soldier of the new West courage, endurance and marksmanship unequalled in the training camps.

Forty-four months of bitter warfare lay ahead for the seventeen West Pointers who survived the second important battle of the Civil War. Brilliance and blundering and tragedy found a way.

At Franklin, Schofield repulsed General John B. Hood's great Confederate army to gain the additional time and relative strength necessary to render certain Hood's subsequent destruction at Nashville.

At Antietam, Sturgis led two regiments of his division in a bayonet charge to carry the famous Burnside Stone Bridge.

At Brice's Cross Roads, Forrest's cavalry cut Sturgis' command to pieces.

At Chickamauga, Granger's initiative saved the Union Army and ranked him with Thomas as the "hero of Chickamauga."

After Chattanooga Granger's inertia caused Grant to lose faith;<sup>87</sup> his insolence turned Sherman sour.<sup>88</sup>

At Iuka, Hébert's brigade absorbed the shock of Rosecrans' two divisions; while at Corinth Hébert failed to execute Van Dorn's orders to attack at dawn.

At Pea Ridge, McIntosh led a cavalry charge, then dashing to the front of his old troops, fell when grape shot pierced his heart.<sup>89</sup> Here, too, was Carr, four times wounded, refusing to leave the field, being bandaged as he sat astride his horse and for this gallantry awarded a Congressional Medal of Honor.

In the Mobile campaign during the closing days of the War, four "Wilson's Creek Men" opened the way to the capture of the last important Southern-held port. Carr's division was instrumental in reducing Spanish Fort; Steele's forces stormed Fort Blakely; Granger's corps occupied Mobile; and Totten, Chief of Ordnance, commanded the siege train.

Other outstanding events of the Wilson's Creek West Pointers are: (1)

<sup>87</sup> Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs* (New York: Charles L. Webster, 1886), I, pp. 92-3.

<sup>88</sup> William T. Sherman, *Memoirs* (New York: Charles L. Webster, 1892), I, p. 396.

<sup>89</sup> O.R., I, VIII, p. 285; among the West Pointers who survived Wilson's Creek, McIntosh is the single instance of death in combat. Plummer, however, died of battle wounds August 9th, 1862, near Corinth, Mississippi.

Gilbert's corps at Perryville; (2) Major's conduct in the Red River Campaign; (3) DuBois' brigade at Corinth; (4) Plummer's performance in the Island No. 10 campaign; (5) Huston's cavalry at Prairie Grove, Arkansas; (6) Conrad's U. S. regulars at Ream's Station near Petersburg, Virginia; (7) Farrand's cavalry at Fort Donelson; (8) Sokalski aboard the U.S.S. *Cincinnati* when she was sunk near Vicksburg.

At Springfield, Lyon's desperate decision to attack merely assured them the mark of "Wilson's Creek Men." It was, indeed, the mark of a severe struggle. Few Civil War battles disclose an equal percentage of casualties, considering the number engaged and the time spent in fighting.

Within 5 hours fighting time there were 2330 casualties among the 15,575 troops engaged. Snead says: "Never before—considering the number engaged—had so bloody a battle been fought upon American soil; seldom has a bloodier one been fought on any modern field."<sup>90</sup>

Wilson's Creek is best expressed, perhaps in the poetical phrase of an officer of the Confederacy: "A mighty mean-fowt fight."<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup> B. & L., p. 306; Snead, *op cit.*, p. 292.

<sup>91</sup> B. & L., p. 296, note.



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## Confederate Copper

RALPH W. DONNELLY

PROBABLY WE HAVE ALL READ AT SOME TIME in our youth the little jingle concerning the chain of events leading to a nation's downfall that originated with the loss of a horseshoe nail. The Confederate States of America's bid for independence relied upon a number of "horseshoe nails," relatively unimportant items in themselves, yet all important in the munitions production pattern which made the conduct of the war possible.

The Confederate Nitre and Mining Bureau devoted its entire activities toward securing the raw materials necessary for the production of munitions. One seldom-thought-of metal was of immense value to the South, and its production was a number one priority. This metal was copper. Today, with our concept of total war and the recognized value of copper for wiring, machinery and radio and electronic devices, the importance of copper is readily understood. During the American Civil War copper was no less important even though the electronics age was not yet with us. Its most specific use was in the manufacture of musket caps without which the soldiers could not fire their guns. The problem was just this simple: no caps, no guns fired.

The other major use of copper during the Civil War was in the casting of bronze<sup>1</sup> field pieces. This casting was suspended when copper became scarce, but no grave emergency was created since the casting of equally satisfactory banded iron field pieces continued unaffected.

<sup>1</sup> At this time the terms "brass" and "bronze" had essentially the same meaning, a copper-tin alloy, and were used interchangeably. Gun metal was 10 parts pure tin to 90 parts of copper. See testimony of Lt. Beverly Kennon, Investigation of the C. S. Navy Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington: 1894-1914), Series 2, Volume 1, page 523. This collection hereafter cited as *N.O.R.*, followed by the series number, the volume number, and the page, as: *N.O.R.*, 2, 1, p. 523.

Copper mines were scarce in the Confederacy. There were workable mines in southern Virginia in Carroll and Grayson Counties, but the most productive were to be found in the extreme southeastern corner of Tennessee in the vicinity of Ducktown, Polk County. The Confederate Nitre and Mining Bureau decided to depend upon the Ducktown mines solely and treat the Carroll and Grayson County, Virginia, mines as a reserve.<sup>2</sup>

In the very beginning some hopes were expressed that the newly discovered copper mines of the Arizona Territory might be a source of supply to the Confederacy.<sup>3</sup> The withdrawal of the Federal troops, however, did not of itself automatically deliver the mines to the Confederates. It was reported by Confederate Lt. Col. John R. Baylor to his superior that "The most important and available mines to the Confederacy are under the sway of the Indians."<sup>4</sup> In the Pinos Altos region there was apparently one copper mine<sup>5</sup> whereas the Pinos Altos mines proper were probably gold and silver.<sup>6</sup>

The inability of the Confederates to maintain control in the area, the difficulties of desert conditions, distance, and Indians, as well as the apparent sufficiency of the Ducktown mine, made the Southwestern copper mines of mere academic interest.

Copper apparently was obtainable in the general area of South Arkansas, North Louisiana, and Texas, although the records as to the working of mines or production figures have not been located. In a report to the Headquarters of Department No. 2, dated at Little Rock, Ark., Col. Francis A. Shoup said, "There are in the County of Montgomery [Arkansas?] rich Copper and Lead mines, which can be worked at a great advantage, yielding an ore of superior quality & in great abundance." Later in his report, when speaking of the foundry at Camden, Ouachita County, Arkansas, he stated, "There is an abundant supply of Bell Metal in this Country & a good supply of Copper."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 4, Volume II, page 30. Major and Superintendent I. M. St. John to Secretary of War G. W. Randolph, July 31, 1862. This collection hereafter cited as *O.R.*, followed by the series number, the volume number, and the page, as: *O.R.*, 4, II, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *O.R.*, 1, LIII, p. 704. Letter, W. Claude Jones to Secretary of War L. Pope Walker, June 30, 1861.

<sup>4</sup> *O.R.*, 1, IV, p. 120. Letter, Lt. Col. John R. Baylor, CSA, to Col. H. E. McCulloch, October 14, 1861.

<sup>5</sup> *O.R.*, 1, XLI, 1, p. 877. Report of Col. Oscar M. Brown, 1st Cavalry, California Volunteers, USA, December 1, 1864. See also *O.R.*, 1, XV, p. 670.

<sup>6</sup> *O.R.*, 1, IV, p. 121. Letter, Captain William Markt to Lt. Col. John R. Baylor, 2nd Texas Mounted Rifles, CSA, October 8, 1861. See also *O.R.*, 1, L, part 2, p. 275.

<sup>7</sup> U.S. National Archives, Record Group 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Carded Records of Confederate Personnel, personal file of Brigadier General Francis A. Shoup, CSA. This source hereafter cited as *CSA Carded Records*. Shoup graduated from West Point in 1855, standing 15th in a class of 34. This class was not particularly distinguished in the Confederate Army, but did contain Godfrey Weitzel, Alexander S. Webb, Alfred T. A. Torbert, William W. Averell and William B. Hazen.

While Shoup's report was brief, Jefferson Davis commented a year later, "Indeed, the only very clear information ever communicated to me on Trans-Mississippi resources was in the report of that much-abused officer, Brigadier-General Shoup."<sup>8</sup>

But, generally speaking, the story of copper in the Confederacy centers around the Ducktown, Tennessee, mines.

Early in the war the Confederate Government sequestered shares of stock which were later sold to William H. Peet. Peet and John Thomas operated the Ducktown copper mines while Peet also operated the Tennessee Copper Rolling Works at Cleveland, Tennessee. The Confederate Government took over some 110,000 shares, \$10 par value, of Union Consolidated Mining Co. (Ducktown copper) stock, and 1500 shares, \$100 par value, of Burra Burra Copper Co. These shares were advertised for sale in Knoxville to the highest bidder on June 30, 1863 by Receiver T. J. Campbell pursuant to a decree of the Confederate States District Court for the Eastern District of Tennessee.<sup>9</sup>

The Confederate Navy early entered into negotiations with Peet for a supply of copper, and he reduced his proposals to writing for the assistance of Secretary of the Navy S. R. Mallory. In a letter dated August 29, 1861, Peet pointed out that the production of copper would require sufficient Government aid to justify the expenditure of funds to erect suitable machinery and to secure the proper artisans. He proposed the delivery of some three to five thousand tons of copper at, say, Cleveland, Tennessee. The delivery of ingot copper was to commence at once and that of the bolt and sheet copper in five or six months. A peace-time price of 25¢ a pound for ingot copper and 37½¢ a pound for bolt or bar and sheet copper was proposed with payment to be made on delivery in notes and bonds of the Confederate States at par value.<sup>10</sup>

A contract, apparently an outgrowth of these negotiations, was completed in 1861 with W. H. Peet and John Thomas for 1000 tons of ingot, bar, and sheet copper. The first 50 tons were to be delivered within six months and the remainder as required thereafter.<sup>11</sup>

On September 21, 1861, Lt. Col. Josiah Gorgas, Chief of Army Ordnance, entered into a contract with W. H. Peet and John Thomas to furnish some 800 tons of copper to the Confederacy, packaged for shipping and delivered to Cleveland, Tennessee. Of this order, 600 tons were to be ingot copper, 50 tons No. 20 gauge sheet copper, and 150 tons No. 24 gauge sheet copper, but the right to change these proportions on reasonable notice was reserved. Ingot copper delivered before January

<sup>8</sup> O.R., 1, LIII, p. 880. Letter, President Jefferson Davis to Senator R. W. Johnson, July 14, 1863.

<sup>9</sup> *Daily Advertiser and Register* (Mobile, Alabama), June 12, 1863, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> N.O.R., 2, II, p. 93. Letter, W. H. Peet to Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory, August 29, 1861.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

1, 1864, was to be paid for at 25¢ per pound and sheet copper at 37½¢ per pound. After that date current market rates were to prevail. Payment was to be made on delivery, one-third in Confederate bonds and the balance in current funds. As to annual quantities, the first delivery was to be made within six months and to continue thereafter in quantities of not less than 50 tons of sheet copper and 150 tons of ingot copper per annum.<sup>12</sup>

The Tredegar Works of Richmond, Virginia, operating as J. R. Anderson and Co., made arrangements with Julius E. Raht, manager of the Ducktown mines, for the purchase of copper in September of 1861. The amount is not specified.<sup>13</sup> This arrangement was apparently in addition to and separate from both the Army and Navy contracts.

But the Confederates were not always privileged to enjoy the luxury of the possession of the Ducktown mines. The story of the loss is obscure, and its significance has been largely missed in the writings both then and since. Even today in current writings on Confederate ordnance there seems to be no exact determination of the date of the loss of the Ducktown copper mines by the Confederates. In his recent biography of Gen. Josiah Gorgas, Dr. Frank E. Vandiver concludes "... that the mines fell to the Federals after the battles around Chattanooga," which seems reasonable.<sup>14</sup> But he cites, and then tentatively rejects, two sources suggesting 1864, indicating indecision as to the date. The detailed work of R. E. Barclay,<sup>15</sup> (published in 1946) establishing the year as 1863 is not referred to, nor is the date of the destruction of the copper rolling mill mentioned, although the mill's destruction is definitely established in the *Official Records*.<sup>16</sup>

The evidence is that the Ducktown mines served the Confederate Government until late in 1863, at or about the time of the capture of the railroad from Cleveland south through Dalton, Ga.<sup>17</sup> A detachment of 1500 Federal troops from six different regiments<sup>18</sup> under Colonel Eli Long moved into Cleveland, Tennessee, on November 26, 1863, burned several railroad cars, destroyed the copper rolling mill, and tore up twelve miles of railroad track on both the Chattanooga and the Dalton lines, and

<sup>12</sup> *CSA Carded Records*, personal file of W. H. Peet and John Thomas (jointly), Confederate Citizens.

<sup>13</sup> Kathleen Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era* (New York: Century Co., 1931), p. 362 and note 159.

<sup>14</sup> Frank E. Vandiver, *Ploughshares into Swords: Josiah Gorgas and Confederate Ordnance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1952), p. 201 and note 20.

<sup>15</sup> R. E. Barclay, *Ducktown Back in Raht's Time* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946).

<sup>16</sup> *O.R.*, 1, XXXI, 2, p. 561.

<sup>17</sup> Barclay, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> *O.R.*, 1, XXXI, 2, pp. 560-1. The regiments involved were the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Ohio, 4th Michigan, 98th Illinois Mounted Infantry, and the 17th Indiana Mounted Infantry.

captured 233 prisoners<sup>19</sup> of Brig. Gen. John H. Kelly's cavalry command. But occupancy by Confederate troops was hardly less destructive. Peet billed the Confederate Government on November 10, 1863, for \$450 to cover losses of property coincidental with the presence of Col. George G. Dibrell's brigade. These cavalymen were fair foragers as testified to by this bill for 350 bushels of corn, 5 tons of hay, 1½ miles of fence rails, ten rails high, equal to 9900 rails, 1 cow, 1 fine Durham bull, and 1 fat 200-lb. hog. In addition, the blacksmith's shop was broken open and iron and tools carried away that were worth \$450 in time of peace, as well as being essential for carrying on the work on Government contracts.<sup>20</sup>

The date of the Federal raid on Cleveland, November 26, 1863, ties in rather closely with the last date on which copper was delivered to the Confederate Government (November 23, 1863) when some 16,016 pounds of copper sheets were received.<sup>21</sup>

The loss of the railroad for the transportation of copper to the interior was a major disaster, a disaster precipitated by the forced withdrawal of the Confederate troops from the Ducktown-Cleveland area. Yet, surprisingly enough, the Confederate field commanders were seemingly oblivious to the seriousness of the situation except insofar as it affected Longstreet before Knoxville.<sup>22</sup>

The transportation of copper to Richmond was a matter of prime importance in the production of the supply of munitions for the Army of Northern Virginia. The backbone of the maintenance of this supply was the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad from Cleveland to Knoxville; the East Tennessee and Virginia, connecting Knoxville and Lynchburg, and the Southside from Lynchburg to Petersburg, or transferring to Richmond at Burksville. This line was not only responsible for copper being shipped to Richmond but also for the shipping of lead from the Wythe mines and salt from Saltville, Virginia.

The severance of this vulnerable backbone was a matter of concern to the Nitre and Mining Bureau in Richmond, whenever it happened. On the occasion of an earlier interruption of communication Major Richard Morton wrote Major W. S. Downer, Superintendent of Armories in Richmond, as follows:

How long will the present supply of copper hold out? The burning of the Holston bridge will make it necessary for any additional supply of copper to

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 561 and O.R., 1, XXXI, 1, p. 436.

<sup>20</sup> CSA *Carded Records*, personal file of William H. Peet, Confederate Citizen. Bill against C.S. Government dated November 10, 1863.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, itemized account of payment made to R. A. Milliken, Administrator of Estate of W. H. Peet by Captain H. F. Reardon, C. S. Nitre and Mining Corps, July 15, 1864.

<sup>22</sup> O.R., 1, XXXI, 3, p. 779 and p. 791.



come around through Georgia; unless therefore it is needed very much it will not be desirable to bring it over such a long route.<sup>23</sup>

Transportation had long been a major problem in the Ducktown area; the railroad had been instrumental in its developing on a commercial basis. In 1848 there were three outlets from the Ducktown area: via Ellijay, Ga., via Dahlonega, Ga., and via Murphy, N.C. All of these routes were, for heavily loaded wagons, virtually impassable in the winter and but little better in summer. The Murphy and Dahlonega routes were virtually useless as they did not lead to a railroad; as late as 1850 the nearest railroad connection was at Dalton, Ga., 70 miles away, via Ellijay.

Through the decade prior to the Civil War, the North Carolina Western Turnpike was extended close to the Ducktown area via Morganton and Benton, and the railroad reached Cleveland, furnishing additional outlets to the copper producing area.<sup>24</sup> Mail routes linking Ducktown with the outside world were four in number, but of themselves only indicated possible routes, for the carrying of mail was still a matter for horseback couriers.<sup>25</sup> During the war the road eastward over the mountains from Ducktown to Murphy, Cherokee County, North Carolina, was not feasible for the transportation of heavy copper, and there is little record of its use beyond a single report of Federal troops chasing a Confederate wagon train through Murphy in December, 1863.<sup>26</sup>

This route eastward from Ducktown to Murphy would have been an awkward and difficult route for the shipping of copper to the percussion cap factory at Macon, Georgia. In addition, a new or converted rolling mill would have been needed for the preparation of sheet copper.

The location of Cleveland, site of the former rolling mill, on the railroad leading to Macon was extremely handy. The route through Murphy would have involved an overland trip of 110-125 miles (air line measurement) to the nearest railroad terminals of Athens, Georgia, Pickins, or Greenville, South Carolina.

Conditions at this time in Cherokee County, North Carolina, were not favorable to the use of the roads by any except armed groups. A considerable band of deserters, Tories, and draft dodgers — estimated at 300 to 500 — from the counties of Cherokee and Henderson, as well as from neighboring Tennessee, were reported in the area during the summer of 1863 and presumably were present until the close of the war. In Cherokee County in August, 1863 these bands were reported in the ascendancy,

<sup>23</sup> U.S. National Archives, Record Group 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Nitre and Mining Corps Records, Box 57, letter, Major Richard Morton to Major W. S. Downer, Superintendent of Armories, Richmond, etc., July 13, 1864. Hereafter cited as Box 57.

<sup>24</sup> Barclay, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>26</sup> O.R., 1, XXXI, 2, p. 354, pp. 562-3, and p. 580.

augmenting their numbers every day.<sup>27</sup> Less than a month later a band in Cherokee County was reported to have assumed a sort of military occupation, actually taking over the control of a town.<sup>28</sup> These conditions might well have been instrumental in blocking off wagon trains or pack horse trains attempting to carry copper from Ducktown.

The Ducktown area does not seem to have been actually occupied by either Confederate or Federal forces after November, 1863, but with the breaking of the railroad link south from nearby Cleveland operations at the mines were suspended. The district was overrun by guerrilla bands until the close of the war.<sup>29</sup> This guerrilla warfare has been described as "... the worst and meanest kind that gave ample opportunity for the commission of atrocious crimes and outrages. ..."<sup>30</sup>

The young men most likely to have exercised Confederate control over the area had already gone into the Confederate Army. On June 3, 1861, a company was enlisted — under the captaincy of J. H. Hannah — which became Company F of the 19th Tennessee Infantry. Many of the men were from the vicinity of Cleveland and Loudon. Very few of these men were ever detailed for duty away from their unit, and there is no indication that those who were detailed went back to work in either the copper mines or the rolling mill.<sup>31</sup>

A few months later, on October 19, 1861, another company of Confederates was organized at Hiwassee Mines and served as Company A, 43d Tennessee Mounted Infantry. The first captain was John Goodman, succeeded on May 10, 1862, by John Tonkin, Jr., whose father was mine captain for the Union Consolidated Mining Co. But here again in this company's records there is no indication of men being detailed for work in either the copper mines or the rolling mill.<sup>32</sup>

Even William H. Peet had his troubles, being constantly threatened with conscription as he was under forty years of age. Senator B. H. Hill of Georgia interceded with the War Department for a permanent exemption for him because of his importance in the production of copper. The Secretary of War, James A. Seddon, answered that the Department

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 783. Letter, Captain D. C. Pearson, Enrolling Officer, 10th District, to Captain J. C. McRae, Commanding Conscripts, Morgantown, N.C., August 10, 1863.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 783. Letter, Lt. Colonel & Inspector George W. Lay to Colonel J. S. Preston, Superintendent of Conscription, September 2, 1863.

<sup>29</sup> Barclay, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101.

<sup>30</sup> Carl Henrich, "The Ducktown Ore-Deposits and the Treatment of the Ducktown Copper-Ores," *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers*, XXV (1895), 181.

<sup>31</sup> U.S. National Archives, Record Group 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Muster Rolls for Co. F, 19th Tennessee Infantry (ten rolls), Box 454.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Muster rolls for Co. A, 43rd Tennessee Infantry (twelve rolls), Box 470.

did not consider a contractor with the Government entitled to exemption on such grounds.<sup>33</sup>

Some indication of the importance of the Ducktown copper mines to the Confederacy is seen in the fact that the Superintendent of the Nitre and Mining Bureau saw fit to assign one of his few officers to that post. On June 16, 1864, Superintendent Isaac M. St. John, in drafting his recommendations for promotions in the Nitre and Mining Corps, recommended Lt. John R. Hale of Texas for a captaincy, and mentioned his current assignment as "in charge Ducktown Copper Mines."<sup>34</sup> This recommendation is surprising because of two facts: first, that no officer seems to have been in direct charge of the mines during their period of production from the outbreak of the war through November, 1863, and second, since there is no clear indication that the Confederacy operated or even occupied the Ducktown area after November, 1863. This may have been an anticipatory assignment since as late as February 15, 1864, Hale was stationed at Rome, Georgia,<sup>35</sup> and on September 30, 1864 he was reported as being "in the field - Georgia."<sup>36</sup> At this time St. John was reporting to the Secretary of War, "The Ducktown Copper Mines are still in hostile occupation."<sup>37</sup>

The Ducktown mines employed about 300 persons at the works. The source of power was water from Potato Creek and steam at the plant. The yield of ore per month was up to 300 tons with a capacity of 300,000 to 400,000 lbs. of fine copper per month, yet the annual maximum capacity was estimated at 2,000,000 lbs. of fine copper. There were some twelve furnaces as part of the plant although not all were necessarily operating at the same time. The earlier contracts provided for copper at 25¢ per pound, but the rise in the cost of provisions, and other material, increased the price 25¢ more. By mid-summer 1863 the price had jumped from 75¢ to 90¢ per pound.

At Cleveland was located the Tennessee Rolling Works plant which was set up to produce sheet and bolt copper. At the time an "Abstract of Information" was prepared for the Confederate authorities by Peet and Thomas, the Cleveland works were nearly completed and about ready for active operation. Steam power was to be employed at the plant. Thoroughly dependent upon the Ducktown copper for its raw material, the

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, document WD-245-P 1863 and Confederate Archives, Chapter 9, Volume 12, p. 341.

<sup>34</sup> *CSA Carded Records*, personal file of Colonel Isaac M. St. John, C. S. Nitre and Mining Corps. Letter, Chief of Bureau I.M. St. John to Secretary of War James A. Seddon, June 16, 1864.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, personal file of Captain John R. Hale, C. S. Nitre and Mining Corps. Commitment of quarters receipt for November 27, 1863 to February 15, 1864 at Rome, Georgia.

<sup>36</sup> *O.R.*, 4, III, p. 702.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 695. Report of Colonel I. M. St. John to Secretary of War James A. Seddon, October 1, 1864.



plant was set up to handle 5000 lbs. of sheet and bolt copper per day. Some 40 to 50 men were required to operate the plant. The basic initial contract price per pound for sheet and bolt copper was 37½¢ a pound with a cost of living increase of an additional 37½¢ a pound.<sup>38</sup>

In the early days of the war much of the copper produced at Ducktown was supposed to have been shipped to A. L. Lee Co. of Richmond, but the records of this company have not been located. The amount of copper obtained from the Ducktown mines, according to official Confederate reports, has been reported as 746,805 lbs., but existing records indicate more must have been produced for war use.<sup>39</sup>

The incomplete records still available give these figures for the sale of copper to the Confederacy:<sup>40</sup>

Date	Pounds	Type	Price per lb.	Cost
February 7, 1862	80,119	Ingot	25¢	\$20,029.70
August 12, 1862	6,409	Sheet	75¢	4,806.75
March 17, 1863	49,524	Ingot	50¢	40,571.50
March 18	49,619	Ingot	50¢	
March 18	16,499	Sheet	75¢	[sic]
March 31	16,534	Sheet	75¢	24,774.75
March 31	48,577	Sheet	75¢	
March 31	150,999	Ingot	50¢	75,499.50
June 18	130	Sheet	75¢	104.25
June 18	28,243	Ingot	50¢	30,186.50
June 18	21,420	Sheet	75¢	16,065.00
June 27	25,050	Sheet	90¢	22,545.00
June 27	5,886	Clippings & sheet	90¢	5,297.40
June 27	16,017	Ingot	90¢	14,415.30
June 27	16,114	Bar	90¢	14,502.60
July 11	9,999	Clippings & sheet	90¢	8,999.10
July 21	16,468	Bar	90¢	14,821.20
July 25	12,824	Bar	90¢	11,541.60
July 25	3,704	Clippings	90¢	3,333.60
July 29	16,823	Ingot	90¢	15,140.70
July 29	16,519	Ingot	90¢	14,867.10
July 30	12,401	Clippings	90¢	11,160.90
July 30	2,316	Sheet	90¢	2,084.40
August 12	538	Clippings	90¢	484.20
August 12	7,517	Ingot	90¢	6,765.30
August 12	5,290	Sheet	90¢	4,761.00

<sup>38</sup> Barclay, *op. cit.*, Chapter XI, *passim*.

<sup>39</sup> O.R., 4, III, p. 990. Report to January 1, 1865. The report to September 30, 1864 gave the same figure, page 701 in same volume.

<sup>40</sup> CSA Carded Records, personal files of W. H. Peet and John Thomas (jointly), and W. H. Peet, Confederate Citizen.

October 10	91,536	Ingot	\$3.25	297,492.00
November 13	16,102	Sheet	90¢	14,491.80
November 21	7,300	Slab & bar	90¢	6,570.00
November 21	8,756	Clippings	90¢	7,880.40
November 23	16,016	Sheet	90¢	14,414.40
	<u>775,249</u>			<u>\$740,038.70</u>

Ingots ranged in average weight from 28 to 56 pounds; sheets of copper averaged from 27 to 75 pounds with one special order of small sheets weighing 5 lbs., 7 oz. each; bars of copper averaged between 32 and 42 pounds, and the boxes of clippings averaged 265 to 337 lbs.

The records cited above account for 28,444 lbs. of copper more than reported received by the Confederacy from the Ducktown mines, and since, with two exceptions, these figures cover only part of the period from March 17 through November 23, 1863, it seems fair to assume that many more thousands of pounds were obtained prior to March, 1863.

In addition to the copper sold to the Confederacy some 57,900 pounds of ingot, sheet, and slab copper hidden in the cellar of a house near the rolling mill at Cleveland were found late in 1863 by Federal soldiers. This copper was taken first to Chattanooga and later to Cincinnati, where it was sold. The efforts of Captain Raht and officials of the Union Consolidated Mining Co. in New York to regain possession were unavailing. Peet, who had gone farther South with the retreating Confederates, vainly claimed 30,000 pounds as company property and the remaining 27,900 pounds as his personal property.<sup>41</sup>

The shipments of copper can be traced to some extent through the papers of the officers of the Nitre and Mining Bureau.

Captain F. H. Smith, on duty at the Atlanta office of the Nitre and Mining Bureau, reported that during the third quarter of 1863 he had received three shipments of copper, namely: 7,517 lbs. of ingots, 12,939 lbs. of clippings, and 1,243 lbs. of sheet.<sup>42</sup> These 7,517 pounds of ingot copper correspond exactly in weight to the August 12, 1863 delivery to the Confederate authorities; the 12,939 pounds of clippings correspond exactly in weight to the July 30 and August 12 deliveries combined, and the 1,243 pounds of sheet copper could have been part of any of several third quarter deliveries.

The property returns of Major Richard Morton at Richmond for the second quarter of 1863, show 381,773 pounds of copper purchased and 344 pounds received from other departments, a total of 382,117 pounds. All of this copper went into production so that no copper reserve was carried into the third quarter.<sup>43</sup> It seems more than coincidence that the

<sup>41</sup> Barclay, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

<sup>42</sup> CSA Carded Records, personal file of Captain F. H. Smith, C. S. Nitre and Mining Corps.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, personal papers of Colonel Richard Morton, C. S. Nitre and Mining Corps. Return of Nitre Bureau property at Richmond, for quarter ending June 30, 1863.

existing records for Ducktown deliveries to the Confederate Government amounted to 381,545 pounds from March 17 through June 18, just 228 pounds less than the quantity of purchased copper handled by Morton.

Before leaving the Ducktown mines, it seems in order to look briefly at two copper mines in nearby Georgia, operated on the southern extension of the Ducktown veins and really a part of the Ducktown field artificially separated by the State boundary line. These were the "Lot 20" and "Mobile" mines in Fannin County. There have been reports of a considerable amount of copper coming from the Mobile mine in the early sixties, but no production figures have been located. Mining operations commenced in 1861 at the Lot 20 mine, and the lessee, James Phillips, is reported to have shipped 35.51 tons valued at \$2,451.80 in 1862.<sup>44</sup>

The elimination of the Ducktown mines as a source of supply of copper created great anxiety over the future supply for the manufacture of percussion caps. A five-point program designed to meet the emergency was begun promptly. It was decided (1) to stop the casting of bronze field guns, (2) to hoard all available copper, (3) to institute a quiet but comprehensive collection of scrap copper, (4) to step up the importation of copper, and (5) to reopen the copper mines of Carroll and Grayson Counties, Virginia. The pinch was not felt immediately, but it became acute by 1864 and, while not publicized, was a matter of grave and serious importance to the Ordnance and the Nitre and Mining Bureaus.

The elimination of the casting of bronze field guns was not a disaster as their manufacture constituted only a part of the Confederate gun production, and the iron Napoleon gun invented to take the place of the bronze Napoleons proved adequate. A former member of the Richmond Howitzers has made this interesting comment on these iron substitutes:

"It strikes me that Gen'l Anderson of the Tredegar works has received but scant due for the 'Anderson Napoleon Cannon.' We did not have the brass, even after all that from the bells of the churches, in the South requisite for a brass napoleon and it was thought by competent artillerists that no other gun could equal the brass napoleon. In the stress of the situation General Anderson modelled an iron cannon, about doubled in thickness at its breach, with iron bands shrunk the rest of the way at intervals along the bore. Serving as a cannoneer it seemed to me the iron gun was not only equally safe from explosion, but accomplished every purpose against the foe possible with the brass gun and did not create the sharp, piercing ring so severe as not infrequently caused blood to break from the ear of a cannoneer. The chief, and only remembered objection, was the additional iron necessitated additional weight and about eight horses were necessary in transportation. Talking once with your father [General Anderson] he told me this gun was not an invention,

<sup>44</sup> S. W. McCallie, "A Preliminary Report on the Mineral Resources of Georgia," *Geological Survey of Georgia: Bulletin 23* (Atlanta: 1910), pp. 75-8. Information on copper in Georgia during the Civil War has been furnished by Mr. Andrew Brown of the U.S. Geological Survey and a fellow member of the Civil War Round Table of Washington, D.C.

but one modelled on the plan of another. I worked at the Anderson Napoleon on the lines of Spotsylvania and could not detect any inferior[ity], in any particular, to the brass piece, except its weight in moving, and so far as my information goes General Anderson neither claimed nor received a credit in this matter to which he is justly due."<sup>45</sup>

General Gorgas later commented so favorably on the iron Napoleon as to make it quite clear that the suspension of the casting of bronze guns because of a lack of copper was not a crippling blow. He wrote after the war:

When copper became scarce, we fabricated an iron Napoleon with a wrought iron jacket, weighing in all 1,250 pounds, which was entirely satisfactory; and was cheerfully accorded by the artillery companionship with their bronze favorites.<sup>46</sup>

In an attempt to tap all available sources of copper in the country, an officer (Lt. Col. W. Leroy Broun of the Richmond Arsenal<sup>47</sup>) was sent to North Carolina with the authority to purchase or impress all the copper turpentine and apple brandy stills to be found in the State. He was to cut these up and ship the strips to the Richmond Arsenal. He was quite successful in his mission and shipped sufficient copper strips, when re-rolled, to provide all of the percussion caps used during the last year of the war.<sup>48</sup>

Colonel John W. Mallet had written to the Ordnance Bureau on September 15, 1864, recommending that the importation of copper be started or that some of the turpentine stills of North Carolina be taken. Broun endorsed the letter to the effect that he had bought about 130,000 lbs. of copper in North Carolina, of which 27,500 lbs. had been received in Richmond, and the shipment of the remainder was to be arranged. He remarked that Mallet might still purchase stills in Southern North Carolina at \$2.50 lb.<sup>49</sup> (as of November 23, 1863 the price for new sheet copper at Ducktown had been 90¢ lb.). This single source apparently accounted for more than half of the 50,336 lbs. of scrap copper collected during the last quarter of 1864.<sup>50</sup> Much of the scrap copper was laboriously collected in small quantities throughout the South, but the aggregate was a respectable contribution to the war effort.

On September 8, 1863, Professor Francis S. Holmes, Superintendent of the 6th Nitre District (South Carolina), sent 253 lbs. of scrap copper to

<sup>45</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 337, note 37, by special permission of the publisher, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., of New York City.

<sup>46</sup> Josiah Gorgas, "Notes on the Ordnance Department of the Confederate Government," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XII (January-February, 1884), p. 93.

<sup>47</sup> J. W. Mallet and O. E. Hunt, "The Ordnance of the Confederacy," *Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York: Review of Reviews, 1911), V, p. 166.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas L. Broun (compiler), *Dr. William Leroy Broun* (New York: 1912), p. 219.

<sup>49</sup> Vandiver, *op. cit.*, p. 222, note 56.

<sup>50</sup> O.R., 4, III, p. 990.

Augusta; Captain James F. Jones, Superintendent of the 4th District (Valley of Virginia), shipped 2527 lbs. of brass and copper to Richmond; in District 10 (Alabama) Superintendent William H. C. Price was collecting 2978 lbs. of copper.<sup>51</sup> In Mississippi, Governor John J. Pettus was making efforts to recover copper from the ruins of the State penitentiary destroyed by the Federal troops, to be sent to Meridian for sale to the Confederate Government for the manufacture of percussion caps.<sup>52</sup>

As of September 30, 1864, the amount of imported copper was reported as being so small as to be omitted from the report of the Nitre and Mining Bureau<sup>53</sup> although some 10,000 lbs. had been shipped from Europe by Major Caleb Huse prior to February, 1863.<sup>54</sup>

The importation of copper was difficult to arrange on short notice, but between November 1, 1863, and October 26, 1864, some 1,452 packages of copper were received through the ports of Wilmington and Charleston. Whether this copper had been omitted on previous reports or whether it had actually been received during October, 1864, is not clear. But from October 26 to December 8, 1864, only 24 packages of copper entered through these two ports. The weight of a package of copper is not indicated in the available records,<sup>55</sup> but in the quarter ending December 31, 1864, the amount of imported copper was reported as 31,208.7 lbs.,<sup>56</sup> whereas three months previously it had been too negligible to report.

Although Colonel St. John had not expected to have to use the low grade copper ore from the Carroll and Grayson County, Virginia, mines, the trend of events in the summer of 1863 brought a reversal of official thought. In September of 1863 he sent Superintendent John W. Goodwyn at Petersburg, Virginia, on a trip to these mines.<sup>57</sup> This trip was followed on the 15th of the next month by instructions to Goodwyn to secure the Carroll County mines by lease, purchase, or impressment. He was to include the necessary property rights, fixtures, mining privileges, metallic copper on hand, and all essentials for work. More to the point were his instructions to commence mining operations at the earliest practicable date.<sup>58</sup> Goodwyn made his repeat visit to the mines on October 25, 1863.

<sup>51</sup> *CSA Carded Records*, personal files of Francis S. Holmes, Col. Richard Morton, and W. H. C. Price. Holmes' papers are in both the Nitre and Mining Corps file and in the Confederate Citizen file; Price has papers in the Nitre and Mining Corps, Confederate Citizen and loose papers files.

<sup>52</sup> *O.R.*, 4, II, p. 920. Report of Governor John J. Pettus of Mississippi to the State Senate and House of Representatives, November 3, 1863.

<sup>53</sup> *O.R.*, 4, III, 701.

<sup>54</sup> *O.R.*, 4, II, p. 383. Letter, Colonel J. Gorgas to Secretary of War James A. Seddon, February 3, 1863.

<sup>55</sup> *O.R.*, 4, III, p. 930.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 990.

<sup>57</sup> *CSA Carded Records*, personal file of John W. Goodwyn, Confederate Citizen. Expense voucher dated September 3, 1863.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, Letter, Lt. Colonel I. M. St. John to John W. Goodwyn, October 15, 1863.



Apparently additional facilities for processing copper were added to the Nitre Bureau installations at Petersburg as Goodwyn's pay voucher for the month of October, 1863, referred to him as Superintendent of the Lead Works and Copper Furnaces.<sup>59</sup> It is to be noted that these steps were taken while the Ducktown mines were still in Confederate hands.

But the Nitre and Mining Bureau was still looking for more sources of copper. Superintendent Goodwyn received orders on January 25, 1864, from Lt. Colonel Isaac M. St. John to arrange an early meeting with a Mr. McCoy, the President of the Guilford Copper Mine Co. located near Jamestown, N.C. (between Greensboro and High Point). The subject of the proposed meeting was to be Goodwyn's appraisal of the copper ore from the Guilford Mine. He also was requested to make a report on the mine as to its current condition, its prospects, facilities for work, and the character and condition of the stamping machinery.<sup>60</sup> About September 1, 1864, an additional inspection of the Guilford Mine was made at the request of Lt. Colonel Richard Morton, Assistant Chief of the Nitre and Mining Bureau, by George C. Irwin, President of the Silver Hill Mine (lead-silver-gold mine in Davidson County, North Carolina), and Charles Lawtry,<sup>61</sup> but no report of the inspection has been located.

As of October 1, 1864, it appears that Goodwyn was transferred from his post as Superintendent at the Petersburg Copper and Zinc Works to take charge of the new C. S. Smelting Works for lead and copper at Lexington, North Carolina. These works had been constructed under the orders of Secretary of War James A. Seddon, to provide for facilities in more interior localities. Lexington is located on the interior railroad line from Columbia, South Carolina, to Richmond, completed by the building of the Piedmont link between Danville, Virginia, and Greensboro, North Carolina which was finished in May, 1864. By this late date (October, 1864) the Petersburg works had come under Federal fire. The Federal pressure also had caused the Confederate War Department to re-examine the potentialities of interior ore beds.<sup>62</sup>

Some copper mining apparently was being done in the Virginia-North Carolina area, since as of October 4, 1864, Captain William J. March, Co. F, 29th Virginia Infantry, a Carroll County man, was ordered on detached service with the Nitre and Mining Bureau.<sup>63</sup> This captain was probably the same W. J. March who wrote the article, "A Sketch of the Mines and Copper Region of Southwest Virginia," which had been pub-

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* Pay voucher for October, 1863, dated November 2, 1863.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* Letter, Lt. Colonel I. M. St. John to John W. Goodwyn, January 25, 1864.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* Personal file of George C. Irwin, Confederate Citizen. Expense voucher dated September 5, 1864.

<sup>62</sup> *O.R.*, 4, III, p. 695. Report of Colonel I. M. St. John to Secretary of War James A. Seddon, October 1, 1864.

<sup>63</sup> S.O. 229/29, A. & I. G. O. (Richmond), September 27, 1864.



lished in 1857.<sup>64</sup> As of December 31, 1864, although stationed at Wytheville, Va., March was in charge of the Virginia copper mines and charged with their inspection.<sup>65</sup>

The reopened mines do not seem to have affected materially the supply of copper; we have Lt. Col. Leroy Broun's statement that the percussion caps made from the old stills maintained the Confederate armies in the East for the last twelve months of the war.

But the Confederacy was not completely out of copper even at the close of the war, for the efforts to compensate for the loss of the Ducktown mines kept a supply on hand. The following letter, written two days after the surrender of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, hitherto unpublished, illustrates how the Nitre and Mining Bureau was still functioning to the very end:

Augusta, April 11, 1865

Lt Col J. W. Mallet  
Supt of Laves  
Macon Ga  
Col-

Yours of the 5th inst. is just at hand. I have telegraphed Capt. [Henry P.] Farrow [at Macon] to issue to you Fifteen Thousand pounds sheet copper. And will issue in future whenever we have it to spare.

The difficulty in getting funds and Articles for Bartre has impeard [sic] our operations very much. If you can secure from the Ord. Dept. Rifle powder & turn the same over to Capt Farrow he will be directed to keep you fully supplied with both Coppre [sic] & Lead.

Very Resptly  
N A Pratt

Act Chfn. [Acting Chief Nitre Bureau?]<sup>66</sup>

Even in the Trans-Mississippi Department the supply of copper had not been exhausted by the end of the war, for in one depot alone, Navasota, Texas, some two tons of pig copper were surrendered to the Federal forces.<sup>67</sup>

One cannot fail to be impressed by the success of the Confederate Ordnance and the Nitre and Mining Bureaus in supplying the copper needs of the Confederacy for as long as they did and in spite of increasing difficulties. The disasters that struck included the loss of control of the railroad through Eastern Tennessee, connecting the Ducktown copper area with the Richmond munitions manufacturing area, the loss of the Ducktown mines themselves when Bragg was forced from the area, and,

<sup>64</sup> W. J. March, "A Sketch of the Mines and Copper Region of Southwest Virginia," *Mining Magazine*, IX (1857), pp. 217-20.

<sup>65</sup> Box 57. Return of Nitre and Mining Bureau Officers, December 31, 1864.

<sup>66</sup> CSA Carded Records, personal file of N. A. Pratt, C. S. Nitre and Mining Corps.

<sup>67</sup> O.R., I, XLVIII, part 2, p. 1135. Report of Captain Seymour Howell, 6th Michigan Heavy Artillery and Chief of Ordnance, Galveston, Texas, July 30, 1865.

finally, the successive closing of the Confederate ports by an increasingly effective Federal blockade and by capture, until only Wilmington, N.C., and Charleston, S.C., remained.

Finally, on January 15, 1865, one of these two remaining arteries was severed by the loss of Fort Fisher, the key to the port of Wilmington. The remaining thread was snapped on February 17, 1865, when Charleston, S.C., was evacuated by the Confederate forces. From this time on dependence would have to be placed upon domestic sources or Mexican imports. Small wonder that as prominent a Confederate as General E. Porter Alexander later commented that it was hard to imagine what the Confederates would then have done had not the surrender at Appomattox relieved the quandary!<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Edward P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), p. 54.

## *To Our Subscribers*

The Editors of CIVIL WAR HISTORY regret that the demand for copies of the first three issues of the magazine (all issues published to date) has been so heavy that our stock of them is exhausted, and that we do not know of any other source from which these issues might be obtained. The printing order has been increased, and we believe it will be possible to purchase single copies of the issues from now on.

Publication difficulties on the first issue of CIVIL WAR HISTORY have resulted in a delay of publication of subsequent issues. We are making efforts to correct this delay, and anticipate that within the second year of publication the date on the magazine and the actual date of publication will be made to coincide. Meanwhile, we thank our subscribers for their patience in waiting for the magazine.

## *Civil War History*

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## The First Mississippi Partisan Rangers, C.S.A.

ANDREW BROWN

ON APRIL 21, 1862, FIVE DAYS AFTER it had enacted the first conscription law to be passed on the American continent, the Congress of the Confederate states authorized the enlistment of partisan rangers. The law did not define "partisan rangers", because such organizations were a part of most armies at the time and their function was well understood. Their purpose was to operate more or less independently against small bodies of the enemy, to disrupt his communications, and to damage him in every way possible without being drawn into a fixed battle. Usually they were mounted; while subject to the same regulations and drawing the same pay as regular troops, partisan rangers were distinguished from them by a provision that for any munitions of war captured from the enemy they were to be paid in cash in such manner as the Secretary of War might prescribe. This feature, which to modern eyes placed the rangers in much the same dubious category on land as privateers on the high seas, disturbed the Congress not at all; in 1861 ranger warfare and privateering were recognized as integral parts of military and naval strategy.

The law gave to the President authority to commission "such officers as he might see fit" to recruit ranger units in company, battalion, or regimental strength. General Orders No. 30 of the Inspector and Adjutant General's office, issued April 28, 1862, stipulated that application to the President for authority to recruit must be made through the commanding general of the Department in which the rangers were to operate.<sup>1</sup> In practice, the recommendation of the commanding general appears to have been considered sufficient authority for the "suitable officers" to proceed

<sup>1</sup> *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: 1880-1901), Series 4, Volume 1, pp. 1094-1100. Hereafter cited as O.R., followed by the Series number, the volume in Roman numerals, the part (if any), and the page, as: O.R., 4, I, pp. 1094-1100.

with recruiting. It is clear that the generals were far more liberal in granting recommendations than the Congress or the War Department had anticipated, and before the law was six months old ranger organizations mushroomed to such an extent that they were detrimental to recruiting for the regular army and to the operation of the Conscription Law. This situation particularly was prevalent in such border regions as north Mississippi and west Tennessee, which after the summer of 1862 were overrun by both the Union and Confederate armies but controlled by neither. To add to the confused situation, the Secretary of War did not issue regulations under which rangers were to be paid for captured munitions until the spring of 1863.<sup>2</sup> In Mississippi, the ironic result was that the rangers, many of whom had enlisted because of the prospect of what might be called legitimate plunder, gained little or no profit from their activities.

By far the best-known ranger organization in Mississippi was the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers, usually referred to as Falkner's Regiment. In at least two respects it was unique among ranger units. First, it was the only such organization in the state recruited as a regiment; other such regiments were formed by combining independent companies. Second, despite its name, it was not designed primarily for guerrilla warfare, but to operate within and as a part of the regular Confederate cavalry forces. The overriding ambition of its commander was a general's commission—and he was clever enough to know that the general's wreath did not come easily to leaders of guerrilla bands. He enlisted his men as rangers only because he knew that he could recruit a regiment for ranger service more easily than he could raise a battalion of regular cavalry or a company of infantry.

The recruiter and first Colonel of the regiment was William C. Falkner of Ripley, Mississippi. In 1862 Falkner was 37 years old, a man of less than average height and of slight build,<sup>3</sup> but a man whose life up to that time had been eventful enough to justify a brief review. Falkner's first military experience was during the War with Mexico, when he was First Lieutenant of Company E, Second Mississippi Infantry. His regiment was sent to Mexico but never engaged in combat. Falkner, however, on April 14, 1847, was shot in the left foot and also lost the ends of three fingers of his left hand in an affray that was sufficiently controversial to prevent his obtaining a disability pension.<sup>4</sup> He resigned from the army on October 31, 1847, and returned to Ripley, where he earned a reputation as

<sup>2</sup> O.R., 4, II, p. 499.

<sup>3</sup> Statement of Dr. C. M. Murry, of Ripley, to the author in 1938. Dr. Murry knew Falkner well.

<sup>4</sup> Mexican War Pension Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C., Case 8504, William C. Falkner. After the law had been liberalized in 1887, Falkner received a pension of \$8.00 a month.

a firebrand by killing one man on the streets of Ripley in 1849 and another in 1851. Though he was acquitted of charges of murder in both cases, feeling against him after the second affair was so bitter that he spent a considerable time in Cincinnati where he published two small books—"The Siege of Monterey" in poetry, and "The Spanish Heroine" in prose.<sup>5</sup> Late in 1851 he returned to Ripley and became active and successful in farming, business, and the legal profession. He dabbled in politics without much success, but in 1858 was appointed Brigadier General of Militia.<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the War between the States he was instrumental in organizing a volunteer company of infantry, the Magnolia Guards, at Ripley. He was elected captain of the company, and when it was incorporated into the Second Mississippi Infantry at Corinth in May 1861 was elected colonel of the regiment.<sup>7</sup> The Second went almost at once to Virginia, and after being stationed in the Shenandoah Valley for a time, served effectively at the first battle of Manassas in July. Falkner was one of eleven colonels specifically commended by General Joseph E. Johnston after the battles and the regiment was praised highly by Colonel J. E. B. Stuart.<sup>8</sup> In later years, when the Falkner legend was expanded into heroic proportions, a number of close to fantastic—but easily disprovable—stories were published about Falkner's prowess at Manassas;<sup>9</sup> but the great gulf between verifiable truth and these legends does not alter the fact that his part in the battle was highly creditable.

In April, 1862, the Second Mississippi, a twelve-months regiment, re-enlisted for the war and were authorized to hold a new election of officers. Anticipating that he might fail of re-election, Falkner attempted to forestall possible defeat by obtaining an appointment as brigadier general and made a trip to Mississippi in an unsuccessful pursuit of that objective.<sup>10</sup> As he had feared, he lost the colonelcy to John M. Stone of Iuka,

<sup>5</sup> *Siege of Monterey. A Poem.* Cincinnati: the author, 1851; *Spanish Heroine: a tale of war and love.* Cincinnati: I. Hart & Co., 1851. Both of these books are in the Rare Books Section, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The preface to the *Siege of Monterey* is particularly interesting because it gives Falkner's account of the two killings.

<sup>6</sup> Dunbar H. Rowland, "Military History of Mississippi", *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register*, 1906, p. 420.

<sup>7</sup> *Confederate Military Records in Possession of the War Department.* National Archives, Muster Rolls and Rosters, Second Mississippi Infantry, CSA. Hereafter cited as C.M.R., followed by specific location of the item cited.

<sup>8</sup> O.R., 1, II, p. 473, and p. 477.

<sup>9</sup> A.L. Bondurant, "William C. Falkner, Novelist," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, III (1900), pp. 113-25. The material in Bondurant's article has been expanded and occasionally amplified in several publications, among the most recent being by Robert Coughlan, "The Private World of William Faulkner," *Life*, XXXV (September 28, 1953) pp. 127-8.

<sup>10</sup> *Old Records Section, Adjutant-General's Office*, National Archives, William C. Falkner file. This file contains Falkner's application to the Secretary of War and several supporting recommendations from general officers serving in Mississippi at the time. Hereafter cited as A.G.O., followed by the specific item cited.



COL. W. C. FALKNER

*(From the monument over his grave at Ripley, Miss.)*



who commanded the regiment throughout the rest of the war and later was for twelve years Governor of Mississippi.

Bitter over his defeat by Stone, Falkner returned to his home at Ripley to find himself very much the hero and something of a martyr. Despite his rebuff in Virginia, his dream of military glory still flamed; when on June 30, 1862, the first Union troops to be seen in Ripley entered the town and he narrowly escaped capture at their hands,<sup>11</sup> he seized instantly the opportunity offered by the invasion. The presence of the Yankees brought the war, hitherto an unpleasant but distant thing to the people of north Mississippi, to their very doorsteps. Falkner's talent as a spellbinder fanned the already blazing martial ardor, and before the month of July was well under way he had enlisted 115 men, and more were joining him daily.<sup>12</sup> The requisite recommendation to the President was obtained from General Sterling Price; as Price was not Department Commander, Falkner's choice of a sponsor was to cause him some trouble later on.<sup>13</sup> By July 28th, the regiment numbered about 600 men and Falkner planned to muster it into Confederate service at Ripley on that date. Even this early in the war, however, the Federal commanders in north Mississippi had an uncanny knowledge of what was going on in the region; Brigadier General Philip H. Sheridan, commanding the Union outpost at Rienzi, sent the Seventh Kansas Cavalry, Colonel A. L. Lee, and the Second Iowa Cavalry, Colonel Edward Hatch, to break up Falkner's organization. The two regiments surrounded Ripley about 8:00 A.M. on the 28th and Hatch went immediately to Ellis' Farm, about four miles west of town, where the Rangers' camp was said to have been. The Seventh Kansas remained in town, to learn later that the regiment had been warned about an hour before the Yankees arrived and had made its escape toward Salem, a now extinct town about three miles west of Ashland.<sup>14</sup> Falkner kept his men intact and mustered them into service on August 1st at Orizaba, some six miles south of Ripley on the New Albany road.<sup>15</sup> A large majority of the officers and men of the regiment were residents of Tippah County. Willis N. Stansell, second captain of Company E and later major, was an exception in that he was from Bolivar County, and all of the officers and most of the men of Company K were from the vicinity of Kossuth in western Tishomingo (now Alcorn) County.<sup>16</sup> Even after allowances are made for the favorable conditions under which he recruited his men, Falkner's achievement in raising nearly

<sup>11</sup> A.G.O., W. T. Stricklin file, manuscript letter, W. T. Stricklin to Brigadier General James R. Chalmers, June 30, 1862.

<sup>12</sup> O.R., 1, XVII, 2, p. 661.

<sup>13</sup> O.R., 1, XXXII, 2, p. 530.

<sup>14</sup> O.R., 1, XVII, 2, p. 132.

<sup>15</sup> C.M.R., Muster Rolls and Roster, Seventh Mississippi Cavalry, C.S.A. (the later designation of the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers).

<sup>16</sup> C.M.R., Historical Rosters, Companies E and K, Seventh Mississippi Cavalry.

a complete regiment from a county with a white population of about 16,000—a county which had already furnished about 1,350 men to the Confederate forces—was no mean accomplishment.

The captains of the various companies at organization were: Co. A, Wm. L. Davis (Thos. Ford after Sept. 2, 1862); Co. B, Lawson B. Hovis (H. T. Counseille after Sept. 2, 1862); Co. C, Forney Green; Co. D, Philip Holcombe; Co. E, J. E. Rogers (Willis N. Stansell after Sept. 2, 1862); Co. F, W. M. Garrett; Co. G, John Garrett; Co. H, J. M. Park; Co. I, Larkin T. McKinza; Co. K, William C. Gambill. The changes in captaincies after September 2nd were due to promotions to regimental offices on that date. These officers were: William C. Falkner, Colonel; Lawson B. Hovis, Lieutenant Colonel; Wm. L. Davis, Major; W. W. Bailey, Adjutant; J. E. Rogers, Quartermaster; J. J. Guyton, Commissary; W. D. Carter, Surgeon; W. G. McGill, Assistant Surgeon; W. T. Boswell, Sergeant-Major; and Wm. R. Buchanan, Quartermaster Sergeant. The first muster roll, dated September 23, 1862, shows 368 present for duty and 397 aggregate present in seven companies; one company was in Tupelo and two companies were absent on a scout. The total regimental enrollment was 715; aggregate present 596, present for duty 570.

During the first year of the regiment's life a number of additional changes were made at the officer level. Forney Green, Captain of Co. C, was wounded in action prior to November 29, 1862 and died January 1, 1863; he was succeeded by B. W. Dickson. Captain Holcombe of Company D was relieved by Colonel Falkner on January 1, 1863, and was succeeded by Absalom White, later by P. M. Marmon, and on July 1, 1863, by Michael Mauney; the dates of White's and Marmon's tenures are not known. J. K. Guyton is listed as captain of Co. E, but again no dates are known; and Captain Garrett of Company F was succeeded about July 1, 1863, by H. L. Duncan. Captain McKinza resigned November 15, 1862, and was succeeded on March 17, 1863, by William Young.<sup>17</sup>

On August 7th Falkner wrote to Adjutant-General Snead of Mississippi for instructions. It is possible to detect a figurative gleam in the Colonel's eye as he remarked, in a question regarding the treatment he should give the not insignificant number of Union sympathizers in the northern part of his county, that certain men of that persuasion near the Tennessee line had "some mighty fine horses."<sup>18</sup> Snead answered that he was to conciliate all Union men except those actually helping the enemy; these men were to be arrested and placed under guard. Private property, however (referring doubtless to the "mighty fine horses"), was not to be impressed, but all men selling cotton to the enemy were to be arrested.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> C.M.R., Muster Rolls and Rosters, Seventh Mississippi Cavalry.

<sup>18</sup> A.G.O., William C. Falkner file, manuscript letter, Falkner to Snead, August 7, 1862.

<sup>19</sup> O.R., 1, XVII, 2, pp. 668-9.

On August 24th Falkner led his regiment into action for the first time. He moved north, travelling mostly at night and away from the main roads, to the vicinity of Chewalla, Tennessee, about 12 miles west of Corinth on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. Swinging east toward Corinth, he captured seven Federal stragglers before returning to his base at Ripley.<sup>20</sup> Then he decided on a move that illustrates both his self-confidence and his rashness; Falkner, with his one green, inexperienced regiment, armed mostly with shotguns, attacked the Federal outpost at Rienzi which was garrisoned by three veteran regiments under the command of hard-bitten Sheridan. Falkner knew that part of Sheridan's force was absent; in north Mississippi at this time both sides usually knew pretty well what the other was doing. But the controlling reason for the attack may well have been the Colonel's burning desire to become a general officer. On June 1st, at Booneville, Brigadier General James R. Chalmers with a force estimated by Sheridan at 5,000 men had made an unsuccessful attack on the same three regiments, and the repulse of Chalmers was responsible for Sheridan's promotion from colonel to brigadier general. Chalmers, several years younger than Falkner, was a long-time personal and legal acquaintance. Both men were made colonels in the Confederate army at about the same time; when Falkner was defeated for re-election in Virginia, however, Chalmers had been a general for two months. To add fuel to the smoldering Falkner resentment, Chalmers' recommendation of Falkner (when the latter was attempting to get a general's commission) had been polite enough but considerably less than enthusiastic. If, Falkner doubtless reasoned, he with an inferior force could succeed where Chalmers with superior numbers had failed, might not the coveted general's wreath be his?

Whatever the demerits of Falkner's decision to attack Rienzi, once the decision was made the plan of attack was excellent. Knowing that the Federals picketed the Hatchie Turnpike on the Ripley-Rienzi road, he sent three companies under Lieutenant Colonel Hovis on the morning of August 28th to ford the Hatchie north of the Turnpike; Falkner, with the seven other companies, crossed to the south and entered the road behind the Union pickets. Hovis led his battalion by side roads to within three miles of Rienzi, where he surprised and drove back a strong Federal picket into the town. A little later Falkner led his seven companies in a thundering charge down the main road into the town. For a short time there was much confusion, but Sheridan managed to form four battalions in line of battle, keeping one company in reserve. Just as they formed, a supply train came in from the north on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad and the Confederates, most likely with some assistance from the embattled Federals, thought that reinforcements were arriving and broke

<sup>20</sup> *O.R.*, 1, XVII, 1, p. 40.

with a Union counter-attack. The bluecoats took up the chase along the Ripley road and Falkner, after making a brief stand about three miles out, fell back to Nowland's store (on the present site of Antioch church), about eight miles west of Rienzi. There the rangers formed line and Captain McKinza of Company I livened the proceedings by holding his pistol over his head and threatening to shoot the first man to run. His efforts were futile, however; the rangers took to the woods and crossed the Hatchie above and below the turnpike, and the Federals rode on to within five miles of Ripley.<sup>21</sup>

The truly amazing fact of the affair at Rienzi is that not a man was killed on either side, indicating that except for the brief flurry in the town, when the Confederates were in too close to use their guns and the Federals could not bring their sabers into play, the whole encounter was more of a chase than a battle. Sheridan reported his losses as two badly and four slightly wounded, and four or five missing. Falkner put his loss at only one man captured,<sup>22</sup> and though descriptions of the affair make his retreat a rout, his regiment was almost intact at Ripley a day or so later.

At the time of the attack on Rienzi, Federal policy was to refuse rangers the rights of soldiers, and Major General Gordon Granger, commanding Grant's cavalry, had issued orders that no prisoners were to be taken;<sup>23</sup> this attitude was changed quickly because of Confederate threats of retaliation if any of the rangers were harmed after being captured. The Union policy explains Sheridan's report that "unfortunately" eleven prisoners were brought in after the Rienzi chase. His statement does not necessarily refute Bailey's claim that only one man was captured, for as the uniforms of Falkner's men were of the most nondescript sort, it is entirely possible that the ten extra captives may have been citizens without connection with the regiment.

On August 30th Falkner reported to Brigadier General Little of Price's army<sup>24</sup> and accompanied Little and Price to Iuka; the town was occupied without resistance on September 14th. Grant, divining that Price intended to use Iuka as a springboard for a junction with Bragg's army in Tennessee, attempted to crush him in a pincers movement between the armies of Major General W. S. Rosecrans, who was to advance northeast from Jacinto, and Major General E. O. C. Ord, moving southeast from Burnsville. On the morning of September 19th Rosecrans moved east to Barnett's Corners, the intersection of the Jacinto-Tusculumbia and

<sup>21</sup> O.R. 1, XVII, 1, pp. 39-41. Philip H. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs of General Philip H. Sheridan* (New York: Charles L. Webster's, 1888), pp. 157-9. W. W. Bailey, "Col. Falkner's Charge at Rienzi," *Southern Sentinel* (Ripley, Mississippi), August 9, 1906.

<sup>22</sup> Bailey, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> O.R., 1, XVII, 1, p. 40.

<sup>24</sup> O.R., 1, XVII, 2, p. 690.

Iuka-Fulton roads, and then turned north toward Iuka. As flankers he sent out Colonel Hatch's Second Iowa, which swung south to Peyton's Mill, where the Iuka-Fulton road crossed Mackey's Creek about a mile south of the present town of Paden. Price had sent Falkner to watch the road at this point, and about noon Hatch encountered Ranger pickets some two miles west of the mill. They retired on the main body, which was drawn up on the east side of the creek, while Hatch deployed his men as skirmishers and attacked. After about half an hour of fighting, the Confederates charged and drove Hatch back across the creek, where the Federals reformed in a strong position that Falkner decided not to attack. Falkner retired toward Iuka, reporting that he lost one lieutenant, one sergeant, and three men killed, and ten men wounded; he saved all his baggage, and with few exceptions his men behaved well.<sup>25</sup> Hatch claimed that he "routed" the Rangers, but the facts seem to be that Falkner, after making contact, retired on his base as any unit on such a mission would have done under the circumstances.

At 4:00 P.M. on the 19th Rosecrans attacked Price at Iuka, without waiting for the northern arm of the pincers to arrive. Price held his position throughout a bloody struggle; as Price had been ordered by General Van Dorn to join him at Ripley for an attack on Corinth, he retired the next day south to Bay Springs, and then west through Baldwyn to Ripley. Though there is no record of the part played by the First Partisan Rangers in the retreat, it is logical to assume that they were a part of the cavalry screen that covered the retreat, covering it so effectively that for several days the Union commanders had no idea of Price's location.

While Van Dorn and Price were making their unsuccessful attack on Corinth on October 2nd, Falkner's regiment was detailed to cut the Mobile and Ohio Railroad north of the town to prevent Grant from sending reinforcements from Jackson, Tennessee. The only report concerning the Rangers' role in this operation is a Federal one to the effect that a body of Confederate cavalry, said by one of the natives to be Falkner's men commanded by Falkner himself, removed a rail at Ramer's Crossing north of Corinth before being driven off.<sup>26</sup> It is clear, however, that the Rangers were among the cavalymen who did so much damage to the railroad that McPherson's reinforcing division from Jackson had to leave the cars at Bethel, fifteen miles north of Corinth, and march the rest of the way to the battlefield on a very hot day. The late arrival of these reinforcements was probably a decisive factor in the failure of Rosecrans' pursuit of the defeated Van Dorn.

The affair at Ramer was the last recorded contact of the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers with Union troops in 1862, although they retired with Van Dorn to Holly Springs and doubtless assisted in covering his

<sup>25</sup> O.R., 1, XVII, 1, p. 138.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.



LT. COL. LAWSON B. HOVIS

*(From a photograph furnished by J. M. Wallace)*



retreat. They were soon, however, to come to blows with a foe that did them far more damage than the bluecoats had been able to inflict. Their new adversary was to be the Confederate Conscription Bureau.

While Falkner was recruiting his regiment there was no regulation preventing men subject to conscription from enlisting in Ranger units; but on July 31 — fatefully enough, one day before Falkner's regiment was mustered into service — the War Department through General Orders No. 53<sup>27</sup> specified that all men in such organizations were subject to conscription. The reason for the order was that Ranger recruiting was completely out of hand, and most of the units — unlike Falkner's regiment which already had a fair combat record — were providing little service. Feeling against Rangers through Mississippi was becoming more and more bitter and the Conscription Bureau, whose operations were being greatly hindered by the multiplicity of ranger groups, took drastic action. On October 29th the Bureau asked for and obtained a positive order directing it to take all men subject to conscription from the ranger companies in the state.<sup>28</sup> The Bureau pounced on the fact that General Price lacked authority to give Falkner permission to recruit. Acting on this excuse, the conscription officers swooped down on the Rangers at Ripley on November 15th and attempted to arrest all non-exempt men, which meant most of the regiment. The Ranger unit disintegrated, the men fleeing in all directions. Falkner was able to take only about 100 men with him in a precipitate flight to Holly Springs.<sup>29</sup>

The action of the Conscription Bureau in breaking up Falkner's regiment may be described charitably as extremely foolish. The Bureau's action probably resulted from a desire to make an example of some unit, and the First Partisan Rangers were the most likely and easily reached victims. The men were concentrated and easy to catch, whereas most ranger units were small and scattered, and little more than paper organizations. There have been hints, although no available records substantiate the suggestion, that antipathy in certain quarters toward Col. Falkner may have had something to do with the decision. But whatever the Bureau's reasoning, it won a Pyrrhic victory. It disbanded a regiment that had good potentialities, and blasted the career of an officer who had not been doing too badly; having done these things, the Bureau did not obtain the conscripts it sought. The Hatchie Hills of east Tippah County abound in good hiding places, and there, instead of in the army, most of the Rangers spent the winter of 1862-63.

Throughout a stormy career Falkner had been knocked down often, but had always come up fighting; his better qualities were never shown to greater advantage than in the three months after his regiment had been

<sup>27</sup> O.R., 4, II, p. 26.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

<sup>29</sup> O.R., I, XVII, 1, p. 490.

smashed by the Conscription Bureau. He wasted no time in vain recriminations similar to those in which he had indulged after his defeat for re-election in Virginia, but instead went to work to rebuild his command. Through his Congressman, J. W. Clapp of Holly Springs — like Chalmers, another legal acquaintance — he obtained from the Secretary of War authority to reorganize the regiment, with the right to include such conscripts as had belonged to it unless in the meantime they had enrolled with some other Confederate unit. The only stipulation was that the regiment should be organized as a regular Confederate cavalry unit and not as independent rangers. To this stipulation Falkner had no objection; it was, in fact, what he preferred.<sup>30</sup> The designation Seventh Mississippi Cavalry probably was given the regiment informally at this time, for in reporting the capture of Lieutenant Colonel Hovis at Ripley on January 29, 1863, the Federals listed their prisoner as "Col. Hovis of the Seventh Mississippi regiment".<sup>31</sup> The First Mississippi Partisan Rangers did not become the Seventh Mississippi Cavalry officially, however, until the summer of 1864.

Adverse sentiment towards the Conscription Bureau for its action in disbanding Falkner's men may well have had something to do with an agreement reached March 17, 1863, between Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton, Commander of the Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana, and Governor John J. Pettus of Mississippi, although the compelling factor was probably the fact that the Confederates were unable to exercise any real control, civil or military, over north Mississippi. The agreement, which was ratified by President Davis, provided that the Conscription Bureau would not attempt to operate in the ten northern counties of Mississippi — the northern 60 miles of the state — and authorized the Governor to recruit men in that area for state service.<sup>32</sup> These state troops, men inaccurately referred to by both sides as rangers, with some notable exceptions saw little fighting and did much to bring the ranger name into disrepute.

Early in March, 1863, Falkner called his regiment to assemble at Pontotoc because Tippah, his home county, was so overrun by Union Cavalrymen that a rendezvous there was out of the question. On the 5th he wrote Clapp that he had 400 men with him, that he was acting under written orders from and reporting directly to General Pemberton, and — here the recurring dream of a generalship appears — he was confident that he could recruit a brigade "within the enemy lines" and asked for

<sup>30</sup> A.G.O., W. C. Falkner file, manuscript letter, Falkner to Clapp, March 5, 1863. C.M.R., Papers of Confederate Notables, Seddon Papers, EG-109, manuscript letter, Clapp to Seddon, March 17, 1863.

<sup>31</sup> O.R., 1, XXIV, 1, p. 334.

<sup>32</sup> John K. Bettersworth, *Confederate Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943), pp. 67-8.

authority to do so.<sup>33</sup> Clapp took up the matter, but the request died somewhere between the offices of Secretary Seddon and President Davis.

Before the middle of March Falkner found that the task of reassembling his regiment was a harder job than he had anticipated, and began to send out some of his men to arrest others. He was, in effect, his own conscription officer. As the prohibition against taking men enlisted in other organizations applied only to Confederate units, he recovered a number of men from the state cavalry which had been recruited under the direction of Governor Pettus. Among these were eight men whom he "claimed" from Sol Street's Company A, Second Mississippi State Cavalry.<sup>34</sup> Reorganization of the regiment was still not complete when, on March 17th, its commander received a yet harder blow. He was ordered to report to and serve under Brigadier General Chalmers, whose newly created Fifth Military District of Mississippi comprised the ten northern counties of the state. Falkner, on March 18th, poured out his woes to Clapp:

I have received orders from Gen. Pemberton to report to Gen. Chalmers at Panola. . . . I cannot help but feel that great injustice has been done me. The sting of mortification is not owing to the fact that I am to be commanded by Gen. C. He is a brave and efficient officer, but is my junior in age and not my seignor [sic] in service. . . . He has been brig. gen. 12 months while I have been neglected and ignored by the govt . . . Now, Mr. Clapp, I appeal to you as a *tried* and *true* patriot to urge the Hon. Secretary to do me justice.<sup>35</sup>

Once more Clapp did his best, but to no effect. In the meantime Falkner reported to Chalmers at his headquarters at Panola, about a mile from the present town of Batesville, and was immediately given a difficult assignment. He was ordered to place pickets on the Memphis and Hernando road near Horn Lake Creek, about halfway between Hernando and Memphis; to send out scouting parties every day to arrest all persons carrying on illicit trade with the enemy; and to seize all horses and mules coming out of Memphis and bring them to Chalmers' Headquarters. General Chalmers placated as best he could his unhappy colonel by placing him in command of the First Brigade, Fifth Military District.<sup>36</sup> This brigade was a small one, but at least it was larger than one regiment!

Falkner set up brigade headquarters at Coldwater, about 25 miles north of Chalmers' headquarters at Panola and ten miles south of Hernando, while his regiment, probably under the immediate command of Major

<sup>33</sup> A.G.O., W. C. Falkner file, manuscript letter, Falkner to Clapp, March 5, 1863.

<sup>34</sup> C.M.R., Papers of Confederate Notables, Chalmers Papers, manuscript letter, Falkner to James R. Chalmers, March 17, 1863. Muster Rolls Company A, Second Mississippi Cavalry, January-February, 1863.

<sup>35</sup> A.G.O., W. C. Falkner file, manuscript letter, Falkner to Clapp, March 18, 1863.

<sup>36</sup> C.M.R., Chapter 2, volume 299, Special Orders and Circulars, Chalmers' Command, p. 11.

John Park, patrolled its exposed beat north of Hernando. On April 8th the Union commander at Memphis sent out a detachment to find out what was going on in an area which had formerly been Federally controlled. Falkner sent a battalion from Coldwater to feel them out, but later in the day crossed the Coldwater himself and with his brigade chased the Federals to Nonconnah Creek, some five miles from Memphis.<sup>37</sup> The reincarnated First Mississippi Partisan Rangers and their compatriots thus won their first brush with the enemy; but within a week after the Nonconnah chase some members of the regiment found homesickness, or their proximity to the fleshpots of Memphis, too much for them. So many men were not accounted for that on April 15th Chalmers detached Company I, Captain William Young, with orders to arrest and bring back all deserters and men absent without leave wherever found.<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile, the Rangers maintained their pickets on Horn Lake Creek and accumulated a considerable amount of sorely needed supplies. On April 18th, however, the day the Union Colonel Grierson began his famous raid from Lagrange to Baton Rouge (and partly as a diversion to screen his movements), the Twelfth Wisconsin Cavalry under Colonel George E. Bryant attacked the Rangers and after a short, bloody fight, drove them south with a loss of 42 men killed and 72, including seven officers, captured. About 70 stand of arms were lost. Two companies, D and H, were practically wiped out, and all supplies, and the wagons and ambulances carrying them were captured. Union casualties were 20 killed and 40 or 50 wounded, seeming to prove that the Rangers made a desperate resistance before being overpowered. The Confederates retreated to the Coldwater River and with help from Chalmers at Panola held the Crossing against Bryant's efforts to pursue farther.<sup>39</sup>

The degree to which Falkner was justly responsible for the defeat — generally called the battle of Hernando — is difficult to evaluate. The defections from the regiment before the fight indicate that Falkner probably was not in direct command, since up to this time he had kept his men in line as well as did most Confederate commanders. Major Park, second-in-command while Lieutenant Colonel Hovis was in a northern

<sup>37</sup> C.M.R., Chapter 2, volume 291, Telegrams Received, Chalmers' Command, p. 15 and p. 25.

<sup>38</sup> C.M.R., Chapter 2, volume 199, Special Orders, Chalmers' Command, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> O.R., 1, XXIV, 1, p. 552 and p. 557. Dee Alexander Brown, *Grierson's Raid* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954). On page 20, Brown states that Falkner and his regiment were "... guarding the northern approaches to Vicksburg ..." on April 18th, the inference being that Falkner was with Pemberton. Falkner's regiment never operated north of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad except during the battle of Corinth, and never south of Grenada, while he was in command. It is doubtful, moreover, if Falkner was with the regiment at Grenada. The small farm Falkner owned in Tippah County (Brown, "... plantation home ...") was in no sense a plantation as the term is generally understood. Falkner lived in Ripley.

prison camp, was distinguished by extreme personal courage, but was never known as a good disciplinarian. It appears that Falkner's failure was as a brigade commander rather than as a Colonel of Partisan Rangers. He made no report on the affair, and Chalmers' report was confined to a terse statement of losses. But whether or not he was at fault, the defeat crushed Falkner militarily so completely that he never recovered. Soon afterward he reported sick, and except for short periods, was never again in active charge of the regiment, though he retained titular command for some six months. On April 27th Lieutenant Colonel H. C. Young reported for temporary assignment and was in command on May 30.<sup>40</sup> On that same day Chalmers filled Falkner's already bitter cup to overflowing, replacing him as commander of the First Brigade in favor of Colonel Robert McCulloch.<sup>41</sup>

Some time prior to the Hernando fight Companies E and G were combined as Company E, Captain W. N. Stansell. A company of Tennesseans commanded by Captain R. R. White joined the company as Company G, and gave the regimental commander and Chalmers considerable trouble in matters of discipline, until the late summer of 1863, when they were transferred to the Twelfth Tennessee. Captain White's company served under Major Sol Street throughout that noted guerrilla's raids behind the Federal lines in west Tennessee in the winter of 1863-64.<sup>42</sup>

After the Hernando fight the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers broke up into small units. On May 25th, three companies were stationed on the Coldwater River; one company was on a scout near Hernando; four companies were in Tippah County, most of them on furlough to gather the wheat crop.<sup>43</sup> The other two companies had been lost at Hernando, but were later reorganized. On June 3rd the four companies in Tippah County were ordered to assemble south of the Tallahatchie River near Rocky Ford to defend the crossing against an anticipated Union Cavalry raid.<sup>44</sup> Falkner, or some of his officers, somehow rounded up about 200 men and complied with the order, although on June 7th Falkner wrote Chalmers asking permission to return to Tippah and Marshall Counties to recruit men and horses. The General agreed, but asked that the move be delayed until after June 12th.<sup>45</sup> On June 8th Chalmers wrote Falkner to watch the impending Federal move closely and if the Union cavalry swung east of the New Albany-Ripley road to notify General Daniel Ruggles, the officer responsible for the defense of northeast Mississippi; the road was

<sup>40</sup> C.M.R., Chapter 2, volume 199, Special Orders Chalmers' Command, S.O. 44, p. 39, S.O. 60, p. 54.

<sup>41</sup> O.R., 1, XXIV, 3, p. 934.

<sup>42</sup> A.G.O., W. N. Stansell and R. R. White files. C.M.R., Muster Rolls Seventh Mississippi Cavalry and Twelfth Tennessee Cavalry.

<sup>43</sup> C.M.R., Chapter 2, volume 289, Letters from Gen. Chalmers, p. 97.

<sup>44</sup> O.R., 1, XXIV, 3, p. 945.

<sup>45</sup> C.M.R., Chapter 2, volume 289, Letters from Gen. Chalmers, p. 120.



the line dividing Ruggles' and Chalmers' jurisdictions.<sup>46</sup> Apparently Falkner sent the message, for Ruggles moved promptly to Pontotoc. On June 13th the Union raiders, under command of Colonel Jesse L. Phillips of the Ninth Illinois Cavalry, reached New Albany and burned most of the town; about midnight Ruggles started in pursuit. Before reaching New Albany he learned that Phillips had only 500 men and two guns and was retiring northward; Ruggles sent Colonel Wm. Boyles with 400 men, and Falkner's 200 Rangers, in pursuit. The two detachments took different roads to Ripley, and Boyles reached the town first about 2:00 P.M. on the 14th. He continued after Phillips without stopping, but left word that he would wait for the Rangers at a feeding place about 12 miles north of the town. He waited there until 11:00 P.M., when he learned that "Colonel Falkner could not for some reason proceed beyond Ripley" and thus was forced to call off the pursuit and retire to the south. In reporting the affair Ruggles concluded bitterly, "It is believed that with the cooperation of Colonel Falkner the expedition would have resulted most successfully."<sup>47</sup>

Although Ruggles (who was not present) thought that Falkner took part in the abortive chase of Phillips, the best evidence is that he was not with the regiment. His last report to Chalmers (other than numerous letters which have little bearing on actual military activities) was dated May 15th and reported the movements of a Union raiding party.<sup>48</sup> Chalmers later wrote that Falkner had not been in command of his regiment after May 14th — a statement that can, however, be interpreted in more than one way. It is impossible to say who was in active command of the detachment which refused to go beyond Ripley.

After their inglorious part in the Phillips affair, the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers are not heard of for about a month. Apparently all too many of them returned to the haven of the Hatchie Hills while their colonel, living now at Pontotoc because Ripley was too close to the Union lines for safety, endeavored to recover his command and his health. His state of mind, as well as the condition of his command, is shown in a letter to Chalmers, dated July 20th, in which he asked that the regiment be detached for guerrilla service — in itself a sharp and most revealing reversal of his former attitude. He wrote in part, "I do not complain of my Government at the bad treatment I have received, but I do think I am entitled to a better position than to command one hundred and fifty men . . . My health is yet feeble but is improving slowly."<sup>49</sup> Chalmers could not grant Falkner's request because of the adamant attitude of the Con-

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>47</sup> O.R., I, XXIV, 2, p. 482.

<sup>48</sup> O.R., I, XXIV, 3, p. 869.

<sup>49</sup> C.M.R., Papers of Confederate Notables, James R. Chalmers Papers, manuscript letter, Falkner to Chalmers, July 20, 1863.



federate authorities towards detaching troops for "special" service; Chalmers was, however, able to assign the regiment to recruiting service — by that time actually conscription duty — for an indefinite period.<sup>50</sup>

At the time Falkner asked to be detached for guerrilla service, most of the regiment was between Pontotoc and Grenada under the field command of Lieutenant Colonel Hovis. Hovis had been exchanged about the first of June. At least two companies — E and F — and possibly more were in Tippah County on July 31st, when Falkner wrote his last known orders as a Confederate officer. These orders were directed to the regiment's quartermaster, ordering him to furnish sufficient funds to the captains of the companies to buy forage for their horses for eight days, at 40 cents per day, while on detached service.<sup>51</sup>

After the fall of Vicksburg on July 4th, 1863, the Confederate authorities were able to devote more attention to the deplorable situation in north Mississippi than had before been possible, and to strengthen the defenses placed Major General Stephen D. Lee in command of the cavalry in that area. Lee immediately ordered the bedeviled Chalmers, who for five months had been fighting almost single-handed against tremendous odds, to recall all of his troops from "special" service. Accordingly, Chalmers, on August 14th, ordered Falkner and his regiment to report to Colonel John McGurk of the Third Mississippi Cavalry. To the rank-conscious Falkner this must have been a galling order, for McGurk's commission as a colonel was hardly a month old; if he ever received the order, he ignored it.<sup>52</sup> In the meantime Lee continued to insist that Chalmers assemble the large number of men who were absent from his command.<sup>53</sup> There is no record of another demand being made on Falkner at this time, but the Colonel could not fail to see the handwriting on the wall, and must have realized that he was caught between Lee's and Chalmers' demands that he return his regiment to the front, and his own inability to assemble more than a fraction of his command. Faced with that dilemma he sent in his resignation on the grounds of ill health, to be effective August 31.<sup>54</sup>

Though the tragedy of Colonel Falkner's military career was nearing its end, there was to be one more moment of suspense before the final curtain fell. On August 30th Falkner wrote Chalmers that on the day before a petition had been drawn up and signed by all the officers of his command expressing their unwillingness to part with him as their commander, and asking that he withdraw his resignation and ask for 60 days

<sup>50</sup> C.M.R., Chapter 2, volume 289, Letters from Gen. Chalmers, p. 178.

<sup>51</sup> A.G.O., H. L. Duncan and W. N. Stansell files.

<sup>52</sup> O.R., 1, XXX, 4, p. 497.

<sup>53</sup> C.M.R., Chapter 2, volume 74, Record of Telegrams Sent, Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana, No. 1284, p. 58.

<sup>54</sup> A.G.O., W. C. Falkner file.

sick leave. He added that he had been informed Chalmers had "cheerfully approved" the suggestion, and was therefore withdrawing the resignation. He was unable, however, to accomplish more in September and October than in the previous months, and when the sick leave expired, sent in his resignation to be effective October 31st, 1863 — seventeen years to the day after he had resigned his commission during the War with Mexico. Chalmers' endorsement on the resignation was bluntness itself: "Respectfully forwarded and recommended. Col. Falkner has not been in command of his regt. since 14th last May."<sup>55</sup>

After Falkner resigned, he dropped out of sight, and so far as the records show, took no further part in the activities of either Confederate or state armies. The often repeated legends that he "rode with Forrest"<sup>56</sup> have no foundation in fact, but may be due in part to a most remarkable similarity in names. In July, 1863, just as W. C. Falkner was fading out of the picture, W. W. Faulkner of Hopkinsville, Kentucky, came to Ripley<sup>57</sup> and served for a time in north Mississippi in various capacities. W. W. Faulkner, an interesting and salty individual, had been a successful officer of partisan rangers in Tennessee and Kentucky in 1862 and early 1863, and later was to serve brilliantly under Forrest as Colonel of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry.<sup>58</sup> Another basis for the legends is undoubtedly the Confederate custom of referring to a regiment by the name of its first colonel, rather than by its number. It is true that "Falkner's Regiment", as the First Partisan Rangers and later as the Seventh Mississippi Cavalry, did fight with the "Wizard of the Saddle", but the colonel who "rode with Forrest" was not the Mississippian W. C. Falkner, but the Kentuckian W. W. Faulkner.<sup>59</sup>

So ended, on a note of bitter frustration, the career of a colonel who started brilliantly but was unable to live up to his early promise. As a recruiter he had few equals in the Confederate service, but except at First Manassas he never attained distinction as a combat officer. Probably the best explanation is that he was a man whose reach always exceeded his grasp; his self-assurance and almost Napoleonic ambition led him into undertakings that he lacked the means to carry to fruition. In spite of his pride, his hypersensitiveness, and his somewhat arrogant manner, he was idolized by many of his soldiers, but with the notable

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Bondurant, *op. cit.*, 117-9. Coughlan, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-8, among others.

<sup>57</sup> O.R., 1, XXIV, 3, p. 579. The statement: "[W. W.] Faulkner, the Kentuckian, is in Ripley but has not command . . ." proves that there is no mistake in identity.

<sup>58</sup> A.G.O., W. W. Falkner file.

<sup>59</sup> In the O.R. the names of both men are spelled with and without the 'u'. The Index, however, is correct except in a very few cases. These exceptions ascribe W. W. Faulkner's activities in west Tennessee to W. C. Falkner; its context, particularly whenever troops are named, makes it clear that the Kentuckian was the officer concerned. W. C. Falkner spelled his name without the 'u'. After his death in 1889 his son, J. W. T. Faulkner, changed the spelling to that now in use. J. W. T. Faulkner was the grandfather of the writer William Faulkner.

exception of Joe Johnston in Virginia he apparently never was in the confidence of his superior officers. In all fairness, it cannot be denied that he did a good job under most difficult conditions until the fateful day of the fight at Hernando; with that débâcle his usefulness to the army was at an end.

During May and June, 1863, the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers were for all practical purposes leaderless and were of little service to the army. After the middle of July, however, when the exchanged Lieutenant Colonel Lawson B. Hovis returned to the front, conditions began to improve. Hovis, a native of North Carolina, had served in the War with Mexico and had joined briefly in the California gold rush before moving to Ripley about 1852. There he opened a carriage shop which he operated successfully until the outbreak of the Civil War, winning a number of prizes for the excellence of his workmanship. In 1862 he was 38 years old, a blue-eyed, sandy-haired man about 5 feet 11 inches tall. He had an excellent record in the Confederate army, having served capably in Virginia as Adjutant of the Second Mississippi Infantry until he, like Colonel Falkner, was displaced by the elections of April, 1862. After his return to Mississippi he assisted Falkner in recruiting the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers and was made captain of Company B, and on September 2nd, Lieutenant Colonel.<sup>60</sup> He served with the regiment throughout the first phase of his career; as Falkner's few battle reports never singled out individuals for praise or blame, the earliest known tribute to his ability as an officer is a Federal one. The tough Sheridan, in his report of Falkner's attack on Rienzi, wrote of the Rangers, "All but three companies were raw levies". The context makes it plain that the three excepted companies were those commanded by Hovis.<sup>61</sup>

The exact date on which Hovis returned to duty after his exchange is not known. The earliest written record is a receipt signed at Grenada on July 19th which shows that he was in active command of the regiment at that time. It is unlikely that all ten companies were with him since three or four were probably in Tippah County on "detached service." On July 31st — the same day Falkner gave his orders for subsistence money to Captains Duncan and Stansell — Hovis was at Houlka, a few miles south of Pontotoc, where he obtained a considerable quantity of clothing for his men.<sup>62</sup>

During the Federal raid on Grenada, resulting in the capture of that

<sup>60</sup> A.G.O., L. B. Hovis file.

<sup>61</sup> O.R., 1, XVII, 1, p. 42.

<sup>62</sup> Some of Hovis' movements and activities can be traced through receipts in the files of his officers in A.G.O. The files of Captain H. L. Duncan, Company F, and Captain John Ford, Company A, are especially useful. No muster rolls of the regiment for this period are known; those in C.M.R. cover only the periods August-September, 1862; February-March, 1863; March-April, 1864 and July-October, 1864.

important supply depot on August 17th, the Rangers were between Pontotoc and Grenada "arresting deserters" and failed to receive the order to move to Grenada until after the town had been evacuated, though the order left Chalmers' headquarters on October 14th.<sup>63</sup> The probable reason is that the order was directed to Falkner who was not in the area. The Rangers did reach Grenada on the 27th, however, and remained for about two weeks while Hovis outfitted his men as well as Confederate resources would permit. Here apparently he gave them some long-needed training and drill, for when he reported to Chalmers at Abbeville about September 17th, the First Partisan Rangers were no longer an undisciplined mob but a reliable force of some 300 to 350 men present for duty (this was about the average size of a Confederate regiment for the time and place). On October 10th, they reported to Colonel McGuirk near Holly Springs and on the next day were among the troops that made the first Confederate offensive movement in north Mississippi since the Battle of Corinth a year before. Chalmers moved north to Salem, where he met and drove back a Union raiding party under Colonel Edward Hatch. In the skirmish at Salem the Rangers were heavily engaged but held their ground until reinforcements arrived, and then joined in the pursuit of the Union cavalry. After repulsing Hatch, Chalmers moved north to Saulsbury and then west along the railroad, breaking the track in four places between Saulsbury and Collierville. He then attacked Collierville, where Company F of the Rangers, as part of the advance guard, captured 15 Union pickets in the outskirts of the town. The Confederates then pushed through the town and attacked the stockade at its western edge, the Rangers in the first line. When they were about 75 yards from the fortifications they were fired on and a little confusion ensued but Hovis, dismounting his men, led a charge that drove the Federal troops out of the stockade. The Confederates destroyed the works, forcing Union prisoners to help in the work, and brought off twenty wagons, five colors and 105 prisoners, and burned a large quantity of stores that could not be carried away. The prisoners were taken seven or eight miles into Mississippi and paroled. Chalmers' entire loss was 13 men killed and 115 wounded.<sup>64</sup>

McGuirk's report of the skirmish at Collierville complimented Hovis highly and added a touch of human interest all too rare in official reports: "Lieutenant-Colonel Hovis became very hoarse from his exertions on rallying his men".<sup>65</sup> Although Hovis could hardly have known it while he was hoarsely exhorting his Rangers, the Confederate victory was

<sup>63</sup> O.R., 1, XXX, 4, p. 543.

<sup>64</sup> C.M.R., Chapter 2, volume 236%, Telegrams Sent, Chalmers' Command; Chalmers to Johnston, October 12, 1863, p. 62.

<sup>65</sup> O.R., 1, XXX, 2, p. 765.

gained under the eyes of no less a personage than General Sherman, for Sherman happened to be passing through Collierville with his escort when the Southerners struck.<sup>66</sup>

On October 20th, Hovis was sent with those of his command who had arms and ammunition to Oxford, while the unarmed men repaired the Mississippi Central Railroad under Hovis' direction.<sup>67</sup> On October 30th,<sup>68</sup> the regiment was ordered to report to Colonel Robert McCulloch's Brigade, and with it took part in Chalmers' second attack on Collierville on November 3rd. McCulloch's brigade was heavily engaged in this unsuccessful attack, and on the retreat the Rangers, fighting dismounted, held the ford of the Coldwater River against the enemy until dark, with a loss of 13 men wounded, among whom was Captain Duncan of Company F.<sup>69</sup>

On November 15th, 1863, Major General Nathan Bedford Forrest was placed in command of the Confederate forces in west Tennessee. As his new "department" was entirely within enemy lines, he set up headquarters at Okolona while assembling an army to enter the region which he nominally controlled. In his recruiting activities, as well as in his plans for the invasion, Forrest had the whole-hearted cooperation of General Lee, who kept the Union forces occupied by repeated forays against the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, while spreading the rumor that Forrest's destination was Memphis. To meet this threat, General Stephen A. Hurlbut, commanding the Union garrison at Memphis, advanced the brigade of Colonel Hatch from Collierville to Moscow, and at the same time sent Colonel J. K. Mizner with three regiments of cavalry from Corinth to Ellistown, Molino, and Orizaba, to watch developments. While Mizner scouted, Forrest was gathering his men in the Pontotoc-Tupelo-New Albany area, eventually concentrating near New Albany. When Mizner at Orizaba was told that Forrest had 6,000 men — an exaggerated estimate — and was cooking six days' rations, he decided that a fight was in prospect and withdrew north to the relatively strong position at Ripley, which he reached on December 1st. At 2:00 P.M. on that day Lee's cavalry, commanded by General Ferguson, charged up the New Albany road through the town of Ripley, broke the Federal line at its northern edge, and chased Mizner as far as Ruckersville. Then they fanned out west of Ripley, in case the Union troops returned; return they did, but too late to do any harm. Meanwhile, Forrest and his "invasion" army marched directly from New Albany to Salem, passing Ripley on their right, while the bewildered Mizner retraced his steps to Pocahontas and

<sup>66</sup> O.R., 1, XXX, 1, p. 731.

<sup>67</sup> C.M.R., Chapter 2, volume 199, Special Orders, Chalmers' Command, S.O. 160, p. 63.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, S.O. 165, p. 151.

<sup>69</sup> Rowland, *op. cit.*, p. 786.



Corinth.<sup>70</sup> While Mizner was being misled on the eastern side of the invasion route, Chalmers moved north from Salem to the railroad, destroyed two miles of track near Saulsbury and a 100-year trestle near Moscow, and attacked Hatch's brigade at Moscow on December 3rd. Lee had made a wide path for Forrest to take into Tennessee; that great cavalryman crossed the state line and set up headquarters in Jackson before the Union commanders fully realized what was happening.

During the advance on Moscow, McCulloch's brigade met the enemy at the State Line Road crossing of the Wolf River and drove two Federal regiments into the river with a loss, according to Lee, of 175 men killed, drowned or wounded and 40 captured, and 100 horses killed and 40 captured.<sup>71</sup> The fighting was bitter, and as usual Lieutenant Colonel Hovis of the Rangers was in the thick of it, as was his old-time antagonist, Colonel Hatch. Both men were seriously wounded; Hatch recovered after a long period of invalidism, but Hovis did not survive. After the battle he was taken to Rocky Ford, where he died on March 26, 1864.<sup>72</sup>

It is not too much to say that the death of Hovis was the greatest loss the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers suffered during its checkered career. In contrast to the colorful Falkner, Hovis was unassuming, and partly for that reason has never received his just reward at the hands of history. But it is a fact, and one that cannot be attributed to mere coincidence, that when Hovis was with the Rangers, they were an efficient fighting unit; when he was absent, they were always somewhat disorganized. His achievement in reassembling the regiment after the rout at Hernando and the resignation of Falkner, and welding it into a reliable combat organization, was truly outstanding. It is regrettable that he did not live long enough to serve under Forrest, for his record shows clearly that he was Forrest's type of officer. Colonel Hovis was a brave man, a trusted leader, and an outstanding combat officer.

After Hovis was disabled, the command of the Rangers devolved upon Major Park, and the regiment was assigned again to the unpopular task of arresting deserters.<sup>73</sup> The courageous Park demonstrated, as he had at Hernando in April, that he could not hold the individualistic Rangers in line. The regiment speedily became so weakened by absences without leave and desertion that on January 8, 1864, General Chalmers consolidated what was left of it with the first and fourth companies of the Eighteenth Partisan Rangers. He named Hovis as Colonel, A. H. Chalmers as Lieutenant Colonel, and Park as Major.<sup>74</sup> As Hovis was at that time

<sup>70</sup> Orlando Davis, "Federal Raids on Ripley, Raid 50", *Southern Sentinel* (Ripley, Mississippi), August 30, 1934.

<sup>71</sup> O.R., 1, XXXI, 1, p. 589.

<sup>72</sup> A.G.O., L. B. Hovis file.

<sup>73</sup> O.R., 1, XXXI, 3, pp. 828-9.

<sup>74</sup> O.R., 1, XXXII, 2, p. 530.



incapacitated from his wound, this arrangement placed Chalmers, the General's brother, in active command; the First Partisans showed their disapproval in typical ranger fashion by going home en masse. On the day the reorganization was to become effective, Chalmers wrote to Lee:

On last night one hundred and thirty, being most of the effective men present in the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers, deserted . . . The Major could not or would not control the men but permitted them to straggle off until he had but seventy-six men for duty when he reached this place. I had applied for a Col. to command them and Genl. Lee sent me Col. Stith of the provisional army but he declined . . . because he had been requested by the officers of the regt. to do so. I then made a temporary consolidation of the regt. with 18th Miss. Battalion and placed Lt. Col. Chalmers in command. He had collected about one hundred seventy-five of them when the desertion took place . . ."

Chalmers reported that he had taken steps to have the deserters arrested and asked authority to dismount the regiment and "get about four good companies to mount on their horses".<sup>75</sup> As the average strength of a cavalry company in Mississippi at this time was about 70 men, the inference is that the regiment was less than 300 strong.

The record does not show what success Chalmers had in arresting the absentees. Shortly after this episode, Forrest's Cavalry Command in north Mississippi and west Tennessee was organized, and Chalmers was placed in divisional command under Forrest, where he served, except for one brief but stormy period early in 1864, as that officer's second-in-command through the war. Even the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers soon learned that "Old Bedford" was not a man to trifle with and became "good hands", though they never became the front-line soldiers they had been under the command of Hovis. The "temporary consolidation" with the Eighteenth was allowed to lapse and the regiment thus regained its identity.

When Major General William Sooy Smith, in February 1864, made the first of the five attempts ordered by Sherman to "get Forrest's hair", the First Partisan Rangers went as far south as Greenwood, where they engaged in a skirmish on February 14th.<sup>76</sup> They then moved east to participate in the stand at Sakatonchee Creek south of West Point, the stand which brought Smith's advance to a halt, forcing him to retire to Memphis.<sup>77</sup> On March 12th, Forrest sent the regiment by rail to Corinth (which had been evacuated by Union troops in January) with orders to "breast the country" from Corinth to Holly Springs and Oxford,

<sup>75</sup> C.M.R., vol. 2, no. 289, Letters sent, Chalmers' Command, p. 293.

<sup>76</sup> O.R. contains no mention of this engagement at Greenwood, but several company muster rolls include it in the list of engagements in which the companies had participated.

<sup>77</sup> O.R., I, XXXII, 1, pp. 256-7.

to arrest all stragglers, conscripts, deserters, and men absent without leave, and if possible to collect the numerous unattached squads and companies of cavalry in the area, and to arrest the men who were stealing and impressing horses without authority.<sup>78</sup>

The Rangers, with the rest of McCulloch's brigade, were left in Mississippi when Forrest and Chalmers returned to Tennessee and fought the campaign that resulted in the capture of Fort Pillow on April 13th. At this time Captain Duncan performed a minor miracle by obtaining 43 pairs of shoes for his command. The requisition, duly endorsed "Approved, Jas. R. Chalmers, Brig. Genl." in that officer's flowing hand, contained the simple justification, "my men are almost barefoot."<sup>79</sup> During Forrest's Tennessee campaign, part of the regiment was at Panola and part at Abbeville, all engaged in guarding bridges and rounding up deserters; both units reported to Colonel McGuirk at Como about the 8th, and joined his men in a four-day series of demonstrations against Memphis while Forrest approached Fort Pillow from the east.<sup>80</sup> After this affair, the Rangers were detached again for what might be called Military Police duty, but in May they rejoined McCulloch's brigade and were sent to Okolona. There, on May 19th, Major Park was succeeded as commanding officer by Lieutenant Colonel S. M. Hyams, Jr., of the Second Missouri Cavalry.<sup>81</sup> Three days before, on May 16th, Captain W. N. Stansell of Company E. had been appointed Major, and it may be inferred that Park was not actually commanding at the time.<sup>82</sup>

In May, when Sherman began to push all before him in northern Georgia, the Confederate infantry in Mississippi was sent to Joe Johnston's army. Later in the month, Confederate authorities decided to send Forrest into Tennessee against Sherman's lifeline, the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. It was a task for which Forrest was pre-eminently fitted, and one which he had wished to undertake before, but from which he had been restrained by the blindness of President Davis and General Bragg. Now that Richmond—too late—had seen the light, Forrest sent on May 22nd Chalmers' Division, including McCulloch's Brigade, to Montevallo, Alabama. They travelled with no train; even cooking utensils were to be sent them from Selma after they reached Montevallo.<sup>83</sup> On May 31st, McCulloch's Brigade was detached to set up a picket and courier line from Elyton (now in the southern part of Birmingham) to Blountsville, Alabama, about forty miles to the north.<sup>84</sup> Meanwhile, Forrest moved toward the Tennessee River in north Alabama and had gone

<sup>78</sup> O.R., 1, XXXII, 3, p. 617.

<sup>79</sup> A.G.O., H. L. Duncan file.

<sup>80</sup> O.R., 1, XXXII, 1, p. 620 and 3, p. 759.

<sup>81</sup> O.R., 1, XXXIX, 2, p. 609.

<sup>82</sup> A.G.O., W. N. Stansell file.

<sup>83</sup> O.R., 1, XXXVIII, 4, p. 734.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 752.

as far east as Russellville and Moulton, when he was recalled because of the advance of General S. D. Sturgis, commander of the third of Sherman's expeditions designed to capture or kill him; the second expedition, also under Sturgis, had gone only as far as Ripley before returning to Memphis and had never engaged the Confederates. On June 10th, Forrest met Sturgis at Brice's Cross Roads, in the northeast corner of Pontotoc County (the place is now in Lee County) and inflicted upon him a resounding defeat. Chalmers too was recalled by Sturgis' advance, but had gone only as far as Columbus on the day the battle was fought.

Even though he had won a brilliant victory over Sturgis, Forrest realized that it was only a question of time before another Federal expedition, and a bigger one, would come out of Memphis after him. Accordingly, he kept his troops concentrated in the vicinity of Okolona and Tupelo until he could tell what direction the next attack would take. He had not long to wait. On June 22nd, General A. J. Smith with 9,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and four batteries, moved to Lafayette by rail and began to repair the track ahead of him, reaching Lagrange on the 27th. While Smith waited at Saulsbury, Forrest sent his brother, Colonel Jesse Forrest, into Tippah County with 400 men to watch the Union movements. Typical of the desolation in that area is the general's statement that he preferred to send a larger force but could not do so because of the difficulty of supplying it with forage.<sup>85</sup> On July 2nd, Jesse Forrest's regiment was augmented by the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers, most of whom were residents of the county and were familiar with the ground. Forrest's order to the regiment is typical of the thorough planning that characterized his every move. The men were to carry three days' cooked rations, two days' rations of corn on their horses, and 40 rounds of ammunition in the cartridge boxes. Three days' rations, four days' corn, and 40 additional rounds of ammunition were to be sent to Ripley in wagons, stored in the town, and all but one wagon and one ambulance were to return to Okolona. All movements of men and supplies were to be made at night.<sup>86</sup>

After reaching Ripley, the Rangers were placed on picket on the Salem road west of town. On July 5th, Smith finally decided to go south instead of east after Forrest, and took up the march, his infantry moving by way of Davis Mills (near the present village of Spring Hill) and Salem towards Ripley, while the cavalry moved down the Ripley-Saulsbury road to screen the infantry from attack from the east. Both groups moved slowly and cautiously, keeping skirmishers ahead and on both flanks at all times. They joined forces on the 6th near the present Antioch Church, about six miles northwest of Ripley.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup> O.R., 1, XXXIX, 2, p. 666.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 681-682.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pt. 1, p. 250. Smith's report erroneously gives the meeting place as "north" of Ripley.

Jesse Forrest's regiment and the Rangers watched the Federal movements closely. A vidette of the Rangers commanded by Lieutenant V. A. Grace went as far west as the present site of Ashland and remained within sight and sound of the Union forces throughout the night of the 6th. On the morning of the 7th, they fell back slowly before the Federal advance towards their main body, which was stationed about three miles west of Ripley on the east side of a tributary of Tippah Creek (then known as Whitten Branch but shown on later maps as Medlock Branch). Their position was on the crest of a high, steep, clay ridge, from which they commanded not only the stream but the intersection of the Holly Springs and Salem roads. When the head of the Union column crossed the stream the Rangers poured in a volley that sent the enemy to the rear in confusion. They rallied, however, when out of range and formed a skirmish line that after two hours of fighting drove the Rangers back into Ripley. The Confederate loss was one man killed and two wounded; two Union soldiers were killed and the next day were buried in the yard of Rev. C. P. Miller in Ripley. Rev. Miller, who was destined within a month to lose the last of his three sons in the fighting around Atlanta, read the burial service.

Smith's army camped the night of the 7th west of Ripley, some of them on the hill the Rangers had defended, and on the morning of the 8th entered the town and turned south toward New Albany. During their daylong passage they burned the courthouse, the Female Academy, all the business houses, and the Methodist Church — the Church apparently because it contained a large amount of hay. They did not deliberately fire any residences, but a high wind was blowing at the time and was responsible for the loss of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and three homes. One of the homes destroyed was that of Colonel Falkner. It was just west of the Methodist Church and took fire from that structure.<sup>88</sup>

The Confederates retired down the New Albany road before Smith's advance, first to New Albany, then to Pontotoc, and finally to the village of Harrisburg, about two miles west of Tupelo. There, on July 14th, the battle of Harrisburg was fought. Though the result was a Federal victory, the outcome was not satisfactory to either side; the nominal victor Smith, after waiting until the 15th to see if Forrest would attack, made the usual retirement back to Memphis. Though he did not bring back "Forrest's hair" which Sherman had ordered him to get at all costs, he made much of the fact that unlike his predecessor Sturgis, he at least took back all of the equipment which he had brought out with him.

<sup>88</sup> Davis, *op. cit.*, Raid 58. W. M. Horton, "The Battle of Whitten Branch," *Southern Sentinel* (Ripley, Mississippi), July 5, 1894. The author learned from Dick Price, an ex-slave, about the hay in the Church, about 1935. The location of the Falkner home in 1864 is from the Deed Records of Tippah County. The block on which the post office now stands, and which has been known for years as the Falkner place, was not purchased by the Colonel until after the war.

During the Harrisburg campaign the Rangers, after their skirmish at Ripley, were engaged at Pontotoc and then in the battle, where they were again with McCulloch's brigade. On July 19th the name of the organization was changed officially to the Seventh Mississippi Cavalry,<sup>89</sup> dropping at long last the name that erroneously associated it with guerrilla warfare.

After Smith's retirement to Memphis the indefatigable Sherman tried once more to capture or kill Forrest, and for his fifth attempt sent General Smith, but this time with 18,000 men. Forrest, unable to fight such an overwhelming force, solved the problem by slipping past Smith, who was in the vicinity of Holly Springs and Oxford, and staging his famous raid on Memphis August 21st, while Chalmers kept the enemy occupied by numerous demonstrations against his lines. The newly named Seventh Mississippi Cavalry participated in these demonstrations and suffered a number of casualties, most of them near Abbeville.

The skirmishing around Abbeville was, in so far as the records show, the last contact of the Seventh Mississippi Cavalry with the enemy. After his daring "invasion" of Memphis, Forrest finally was sent against Sherman's supply line in Tennessee; before he left Mississippi he was persuaded to send McCulloch's Brigade to assist in the defense of Mobile. The brigade at that time consisted of the Seventh Mississippi, Lieutenant Colonel Hyams; the Second Missouri, Lieutenant Colonel Robert A. McCulloch; the Fifth Mississippi, Major W. G. Henderson; Miller's Battalion of Texas Cavalry, Lieutenant Colonel Leonidas Willis; the Eighteenth Mississippi Battalion, Lieutenant Colonel A. H. Chalmers; and the Eighth Mississippi Cavalry, Colonel William L. Duff.<sup>90</sup> The names of the units in themselves bear eloquent witness to the areas from which Forrest drew his soldiers. An army being what it is, it is altogether likely that word of the proposed move to Mobile got around ahead of time, and it is clear that the members of the Seventh Mississippi did not regard the move favorably. As they had done before, a considerable number expressed disapproval by the simple expedient of going home. So many men from Company K deserted that on September 3rd, at camp near West Point, Captain W. C. Gambill sent in his resignation, saying that he had only six men that he could rely upon, "the rest having deserted and are now in the enemy lines."<sup>91</sup> His resignation was accepted, and the six remaining men were transferred to other companies. It is entirely likely that Company C was in the same condition as Company K, as no muster rolls for that unit later than August are available. What was left of the regiment went to Mobile, probably by rail, and reached that port on September 4.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup> O.R., 4, III, p. 543.

<sup>90</sup> O.R., 1, XXXIX, 2, p. 805.

<sup>91</sup> A.G.O., W. C. Gambill file.

<sup>92</sup> O.R., 1, XLI, 3, p. 171.



After the move to Mobile the records contain very little information concerning the Seventh Mississippi. On November 20th, a "detachment" of the regiment was listed with McCulloch's brigade,<sup>93</sup> but on December 1st it was detached and sent to the opposite side of Mobile Bay. At that time its strength was 139 present for duty, 234 aggregate present, and 525 aggregate present and absent.<sup>94</sup> On February 4, 1865, Lieutenant Colonel Hyams was detached for "temporary" duty at General Chalmers' headquarters and never rejoined the Seventh Mississippi.<sup>95</sup> The command fell to Captain Ford of Company A, which indicates that Major Stansell was not then with the regiment.

On February 18, 1865, Chalmers, who was still serving under Forrest, reorganized his cavalry command. He previously had managed to recall McCulloch's Brigade, except the "detached" Seventh, from Mobile, and now assigned part of that regiment, commanded by Major J. T. McBee, and another part commanded by Colonel T. W. White, to Starke's Brigade. As neither Major McBee nor Colonel White appear elsewhere in the records in connection with the Seventh, it appears that they were assigned to the regiment in what was clearly a paper reorganization.<sup>96</sup> Chalmers' reorganization order does, however, indicate that several companies—how many it is impossible to say—that had not gone to Mobile may have been reorganized and were at that time with McCulloch's Brigade, engaged in guarding prisoners in south Mississippi. On February 22nd, Chalmers ordered the regiment to report to Armstrong's Brigade, and combined with it the remnants of Ballentine's Cavalry Regiment, a regiment which had been formed late in 1862 from scattered companies of Partisan Rangers and state troops.<sup>97</sup>

Apparently Captain Ford and his "detachment" left Mobile before March 10th, as they are not included in a return for the District of the Gulf on that date.<sup>98</sup> They had not, however, reached Columbus on that date, as on the 11th Chalmers ordered Ford to move from Mobile to Columbus at once, and "to give the courier a receipt for this order."<sup>99</sup> Thus the "detachment" left Mobile before the siege of that city began on March 26th; whether or not this detachment reached Columbus in time to join Armstrong's Brigade and with it take part in the defense of Selma on April 2nd, is a question that cannot now be answered, as Confederate records of the last campaign in Alabama are almost non-existent. It is possible that a few intrepid souls from the regiment did get into the fight-

<sup>93</sup> O.R., 1, XLV, 1, p. 1233.

<sup>94</sup> O.R., 1, XLV, 2, p. 632.

<sup>95</sup> O.R., 1, XLIX, 1, p. 956.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 993.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1050 and p. 1006.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1046.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1050.



ing at Selma, but it is most likely that most of the men in the Mobile "detachment," once they had left the port behind them, did not stop at Columbus but went on to their homes in northeast Mississippi. They knew, as did most of the men in the ranks, that the war was for all practical purposes over before they left Mobile; they knew that for three years their homeland had been overrun and stripped of all movable property, not only by the two armies but by bands of outlaws; they knew that their families were facing starvation. So, rather than risk their lives in what they considered fruitless fighting, they left the command. The best indication that such was the case is the fact that the records contain no mention of the surrender of the regiment, though it was doubtless included in the convention between Generals Canby and Taylor that ended the fighting in Alabama and Mississippi. A few of the officers, among them Major Stansell and Captain Counseille, gave their paroles at Columbus but so far as the records show, the men simply disappeared. That was true, it should be added, of many other organizations in the western theatres of war.

The record of the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers (or Seventh Mississippi Cavalry) speaks for itself; nothing is to be gained by expanding upon the lessons to be learned from the kaleidoscopic succession of successes and failures, dependability and demoralization, that makes up its history. One fact, however, stands out as deserving emphasis. Under the command of Colonel Falkner until the affair at Hernando, and under Lieutenant Colonel Hovis, until his untimely death, the regiment was an effective and frequently outstanding fighting unit. Under the iron rule of Forrest it was useful, if not always reliable. Under lesser leaders it was never dependable, and more often than not was quite disorganized. Surely the facts of its history speak eloquently to the influence of leadership at both company and regimental levels, on the achievements of the rugged individualists who made up the armies of the Confederacy.

## Cavalry Song

ELBRIDGE JEFFERSON CUTLER

The squadron is forming, the war-bugles play.  
To saddle, brave comrades, stout hearts for a fray!  
Our captain is mounted—strike spurs, and away!

No breeze shakes the blossoms or tosses the grain;  
But the wind of our speed floats the galloper's mane,  
As he feels the bold rider's firm hand on the rein.

Lo! dim in the starlight their white tents appear!  
Ride softly! ride slowly! the onset is near!  
More slowly! more softly! the sentry may hear!

Now fall on the rebel—a tempest of flame!  
Strike down the false banner whose triumph were shame!  
Strike, strike for the true flag, for freedom and fame!

Hurrah! sheathe your swords! the carnage is done.  
All red with our valor, we welcome the sun.  
Up, up with the stars! we have won! we have won!

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## Thomas H. Dudley

BRAINERD DYER

ALTHOUGH THOMAS HAINES DUDLEY was actively interested in public affairs for half a century and served his country with exceptional skill and energy as consul at the busy port of Liverpool for eleven years, during a period of strained Anglo-American relations, he has been largely neglected by historians and is a little-known figure today. Neither the *Dictionary of American Biography* nor its precursors include any sketch of him. Without so much as giving his full name, secondary works on Great Britain and the American Civil War usually make some general reference to Consul Dudley as one who assisted the American Minister in gathering evidence to submit to the British government; but they fail to recognize that he was the principal figure in this work and that this was but one of the many problems with which he was confronted during these years. Nowhere is there any explanation as to how he happened to be chosen for this important post — who he was, where he came from, or what became of him.

Thomas Haines Dudley was born in Burlington County, New Jersey, October 9, 1819. His father, Evan Dudley, and his mother, Ann Haines Dudley, were both descended from English Quakers who settled in this country during the Colonial period. The family was primarily interested in agriculture and young Thomas Haines Dudley grew up on the farm which his mother continued to operate when her husband died only a few months after the birth of Thomas. He was educated at the district schools and after a brief experience as a school teacher, studied law in the office of William N. Jeffers of Camden, New Jersey. He was admitted to the bar in 1845 and the following year married Emaline Matlack, a Camden girl.

Even before these important events in his life, Dudley commenced an active participation in the political life of his community. In the summer

of 1843 he served as secretary of a Whig meeting in Camden, and during the presidential canvass of the following year he was treasurer of the Camden County Clay Club. His interest in the local organizations of his party continued, and in 1852 he became a member of the Whig State Executive Committee and was active in Winfield Scott's campaign. During the next eight years, he took an increasingly important part in the state affairs, first of the Whig and then of the Republican Party. In 1860 he was chosen as one of the delegates-at-large from New Jersey to the Republican National Convention at Chicago, where he contributed significantly to the nomination of Lincoln; and as a member of the resolutions committee helped to formulate the protective tariff plank of the party.

The day before the formal opening of the Convention, a New England committee, headed by Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, visited the delegations from Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. These four states, with conservative views on the slavery question, had been carried by the Democrats in 1856, and, if carried by them again, would make defeat for the Republican candidate almost certain. The New Englanders informed the delegations from these doubtful states that although they preferred Seward, their first concern was victory, and that, therefore, if the four delegations could agree on some one candidate, they — the New Englanders — would vote for him. Subsequently, at Dudley's suggestion, a committee of twelve, three from each of the four states, was appointed to seek an agreement as to a candidate. Dudley was one of the New Jersey members of this committee and took a leading part in its work. He was thoroughly committed to the candidacy of William L. Dayton, New Jersey's favorite son, and vice-presidential candidate in 1856; but when, at the close of a five hour session, this committee concluded that Lincoln was the strongest candidate, Dudley undertook to persuade the full New Jersey delegation to vote for Lincoln, after giving a complimentary vote for Dayton on the first ballot. The Pennsylvania members of the committee likewise agreed to use their influence to turn their delegation from Cameron to Lincoln after the first ballot. Although it was nearly midnight when the committee of twelve finished its work, Dudley gathered the New Jersey delegation together, and, in the early morning hours, gained their support for the plan.

Unquestionably the maneuvers at Chicago were complicated; and other factors, including patronage promises, doubtless contributed to the triumph of Lincoln. Nevertheless, it is clear that Dudley's committee of twelve played a significant part in these maneuvers and that Dudley was a leader in the committee. Lincoln's friend, David Davis, who was one of the Illinois members of the committee of twelve, subsequently wrote to Dudley: "Few men in my opinion deserve more at the hands of the administration." Charles P. Smith (another New Jersey delegate) regarded

it "as a fact beyond contradiction, that had it not been for your [Dudley's] services, Mr. Lincoln would not have been nominated."

During the ensuing campaign Dudley added to claims upon Lincoln by his work as Chairman of the New Jersey State Republican Committee. With his usual energy and zeal, he directed the party's efforts to carry the state, and succeeded in capturing four of the state's seven electoral votes.

In the weeks following the election, Dudley pressed his views upon Lincoln, indirectly through David Davis who passed his letters on to the President-elect, and directly in letters to Lincoln and in one visit to him in Springfield. In particular, Dudley stressed two points: first, that Dayton should have a place in his cabinet, and second, that there should be no compromise with the South. "Our people pretty generally think the day for compromise and concession has gone by," he wrote, "and that our true policy is to stand by the platform laid down at Chicago; let the consequences be what they may. . . . In my judgment, the only way to settle the slavery question effectually is to stand firm to our principals and resist the further extention. If the South goes out of the Union let her go; she can never dissolve this union with less cause to justify it or when we stand upon firmer ground to resist it."

Dudley's influence was not sufficient to obtain a cabinet post for Dayton, but when Dudley was in Springfield, Lincoln virtually promised to send Dayton to London or Paris — a promise which he did not forget. Two weeks after Lincoln's inauguration, Dayton wrote to Dudley from Washington, "The mission is all right. Seward prevented me getting the one to Engd. The Prest. wanted to give me that. I am under obligations to all my friends and more especially to you."

At the same time that Dudley was pressing Dayton upon the Administration, he was interested in an appointment for himself. His claims were presented with earnestness by New Jersey Congressmen, by David Davis, and by Dayton. However, the excitement and the problems created by the firing on Sumter and the first Battle of Bull Run delayed many of Lincoln's appointments for months, and it was not until October that Dudley received his reward. Then Lincoln offered him the post of Minister to Japan or Consul at Liverpool, but urged him to take the former because he really wanted the Consulship for his friend, Gustave Koerner, powerful leader of the Illinois German population. But Dudley's health was none too good, and he preferred the Consular post because of its accessibility to the best of medical advice. Lincoln acquiesced in this decision, and early in November, 1861, Dudley and his family sailed from New York on the steamer *Africa*. On November 19th they arrived in Liverpool and were quickly made aware of the Southern sympathies of the city. That very day Dudley was waited upon by a delegation of some twenty members of the American Chamber of Commerce, whose spokes-

man welcomed him in a speech that emphasized the hopelessness of the task of suppressing the rebellion in the United States.

Liverpool, the greatest port of the British Isles, was the headquarters of Confederate activities in England. Here was located the firm of Fraser, Trenholm and Company, frequently called the English branch of the Confederate Treasury Department. Here were the great shipyards in which were built the *Florida*, the *Alabama*, the *Alexandra*, and the Laird Rams. Through this port entered almost all Confederate cotton, and from it sailed the largest number of blockade runners with their cargoes of indispensable supplies for the Southern armies. It is not surprising that Benjamin Moran, secretary of the legation in London, felt, as he wrote to Dudley, "L'pool is a nest of pirates truly."

From the day of his arrival, Dudley worked with unflagging zeal to ferret out these Confederate activities and to check them in any and every way possible. He was constantly concerned with the movement of ships known to be or suspected of being in the service of the Confederates; busy gathering information about arms and munitions shipments, busy corresponding with United States Consuls at Glasgow, Leeds, Dublin, Cardiff, London and at many ports on the Continent and on the Mediterranean, all of whom made of Dudley's Consulate a clearing house for information. Moran was of the opinion that "none but an iron man could stand such awful wear." James D. Bulloch, the Confederate Naval Agent in England, later wrote of the "Wakeful and agitated condition" of Dudley's mind, of his "nervous activity and the irritable and sometimes irritating persistency with which he pressed the local authorities to seize, or at least to detain ships. . . ." The Case of the United States in the Alabama Claims arbitration repeatedly referred to the efforts of "our energetic consul at Liverpool."

The information gathered by Dudley about blockade runners was hurried to the United States where it was turned over to the Naval authorities, and used by them in intercepting these valuable cargoes. Time and time again Dudley received the thanks of the Department of State for this information. On June 4, 1862, Frederick Seward wrote: "The Department is gratified to be able to inform you, that several of the steamers . . . conveying stores and contraband to the rebels, and of which you gave the Department early and exact information, have been captured in the attempt to run the blockade; the information which you communicated having been conveyed by the Secretary of the Navy to the officers of the blockading squadron." Eight months later Seward informed him that the *Princess Royal*, a vessel which Dudley had called to the attention of the Department, had been captured. "The Navy Department, in this case, as in many others," he wrote, "was seasonably apprised of her intention to elude the blockade through the information communicated by yourself . . . and was thus enabled to prevent the supplies with which



she was loaded from going into the possession of the rebels." This phase of Dudley's work continued to the close of the war. In most instances, he was able to furnish not only an exact description of the ship, but also a full listing of her cargo and the name of the port to which she was destined. Similar information was furnished by other consuls, but because of Dudley's strategic location, his energy and zeal, and his constant use of espionage agents, he was able to give the Washington authorities more information and more complete information than any of his colleagues. He later stated that he gave notice concerning 120 steamers and a considerable number of sailing vessels.

As the British government had recognized the belligerent status of the Confederate States, their agents had full right to purchase supplies, including munitions, and to ship them from British ports. Dudley's task, therefore, was not to interfere with their shipment, but to furnish to the American government information that would lead to their capture as contraband of war or for intended violation of the blockade. In the matter of ships of war, built for the Confederates in British ports, Dudley's task was different. Secretary Seward and Charles Francis Adams constantly protested against these shipbuilding activities. The British constantly called for proof that these ships were being built for the Confederates, and that they were ships of war — that their construction and equipment indicated that they were for the purpose of levying war. The task of gathering this evidence, and of preparing it in proper legal form, fell almost entirely on the shoulders of Dudley. Dudley was of the opinion that the policy of throwing the burden of proof on the United States was unfriendly and illogical. He insisted that the mere charge by himself or other responsible American officials should result in an investigation by the British authorities who were in a far better position than the American officials to obtain evidence; and that the ship or ships should be detained until such an investigation were completed. Dudley presented this view in a pamphlet in which he also pointed out the sharp contrast between the British policy in this regard, and the American policy when the British complained of unneutral acts on the part of Americans at the time of the Canadian Rebellion and during the Crimean War. This pamphlet, which he circulated among the members of Parliament and other government officials shortly before the Laird Rams were seized, may have exercised an influence to that end.

But whether rightfully or wrongfully, the British placed the burden of proof upon the United States, and Dudley set to work to obtain it. "The great difficulty we had to contend with," he later wrote, "was to get any one to testify: we had no means to compel them to do so, and those who knew the most were the least willing to give evidence; indeed, they generally were directly interested in concealing from us the facts which they knew. Even those who were not interested and had knowledge, as a

rule, would not testify or aid us, because it would injure them in a business point of view in a hostile community such as Liverpool was at that time. . . . In many instances persons who gave us information were turned out of employment, and were unable afterwards to obtain work in Liverpool, because they had aided us."

In spite of these difficulties Dudley succeeded in obtaining a great deal of evidence. Enough to convince eminent British lawyers that the *Alabama* ought to be detained, but not enough to persuade the proper British officials, at least until it was too late; enough to persuade the British government to detain the gunboat *Alexandra*, but not enough to convince the British Court that the ship should be seized; enough to persuade the British to detain permanently the famous Laird Rams; and enough to furnish the basis of the American claim for damage committed by the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and the *Shenandoah*.

The evidence obtained by Dudley was almost all in the form of affidavits — affidavits by shipyard mechanics as to the warlike features of the ship or ships under construction; affidavits as to James D. Bulloch's official connection with the Confederate government; and affidavits from workmen and firms who contracted to do certain work on the boats, to the effect that Bulloch personally selected and approved the materials to be used, and that he inspected the boats in the yards almost daily. All of these things were well known, but with no access to the shipyards, and no power to compel Bulloch or the builders to produce contracts and other papers, they were difficult of legal proof.

Dudley early hired the services of Matthew Maguire, a member of a local private detective agency, who was helpful in finding Liverpool citizens who could and would testify, and following the ramifications of Confederate activity into more distant parts of the country. Clarence Randolph Yonge, a southerner who served as one of the original officers of the *Alabama* and subsequently left the service of the Confederacy, came into the employ of Dudley, gave valuable testimony as to Bulloch's status and assisted Dudley in obtaining additional evidence. Other members of the original crew of the *Alabama* were eventually located and persuaded to make affidavits. Another American who was on Dudley's payroll for a period was George T. Chapman, a New England maritime man who had established contacts with the Laird shipbuilding firm and with Bulloch. He proved to be far less useful than at first seemed likely, but he was able to furnish information as to progress on the ships. Dudley's legal training served him well in the preparation of these affidavits, and when William M. Evarts, the able New York lawyer, was sent to England by Seward to assist in legal proceedings, he warmly praised Dudley for the excellent way in which they were drawn.

Dudley was early authorized to spend up to \$2000.00 per year on his espionage service, but this soon proved inadequate. When John Murray

Forbes was in England on a special mission early in 1863, he urged Dudley to spend money liberally, and promised to back him up with the government. He thought it would be worth 50,000 pounds sterling to make certain that the *Laird Rams* did not sail, for if they sailed, war might result and this would "cost 2000 millions." As soon as Forbes reached home he talked to Lincoln and Seward of the need for adequate funds for Dudley. Seward promised a thousand pounds at once but stated that, for the future, Dudley should make known in advance what money would be needed. When reporting this to Dudley, Forbes wrote: "Now pray don't be too modest. You must have large sums to fight the *Ironclads*."

Dudley's efforts to check Confederate shipbuilding activities in England won praise from many directions. In answer to an inquiry from Dudley, Adams wrote: "Whenever you think you can get up as good evidence against them [other Confederate ships] as you did in the Case of the No. 290, I should advise you to do it and send the papers to me as early as possible." "Your proceedings in the Case of the No. 290 are a good guide. For you never did your country better service than by your labors on that occasion." When the British government detained the *Alexandra*, Frederick Seward wrote: "I am directed to assure you of the high appreciation which is entertained by the President of the well-directed energy and discreet proceedings by means of which you have successfully accomplished this important object." When William M. Evarts learned that the sailing of the *Laird Rams* had been held up by the British, he wrote to Dudley, "You have had the greatest share of labor, solicitude and responsibility in this business, and are entitled to the principal credit and congratulations for the invaluable result." Once again the Department of State sent its congratulations because of the "Successful result to your efforts to frustrate the endeavors of the owners of the Rebel Rams," and William Whiting, solicitor of the War department who had but recently returned from England, wrote, "it is difficult here to make our people appreciate the difficulty and importance of your labors. They who are rescued from danger are too apt to disbelieve in danger."

Dudley's work was not confined solely to Liverpool. He went frequently to London for conferences with F. H. Morse, the United States Consul, and Charles Francis Adams, as well as with William M. Evarts, John M. Forbes, William Aspinwall and other special emissaries of the United States government. Even men like Evarts who were sent over primarily to assist Dudley in the legal aspects of his work, not only depended upon him for information but also sought his advice and counsel.

Occasionally Dudley crossed the Channel to France. In 1863 when it was reported that the *Laird Rams* had been sold to the French firm of

Bravay and Company, he was not content to leave the investigation to Dayton, the American Minister, and to John Bigelow, the Consul, but went in person to run the rumor to the ground.

Dudley's experience and his proximity to Confederate headquarters enabled him to contribute to the success of the American efforts to prevent vessels building in the shipyards of Glasgow from reaching the Southerners. From time to time he visited that port and assisted the United States Consul to gather information and file protests. After one of these visits Moran of the Legation staff wrote, "You have given us more facts in this note about vessels in the Clyde than we ever got from all other sources combined." Partly because of his work the screw steamer *Pampero*, which the Glasgow firm of James and George Thomson had built for the Confederates, was seized by the British authorities in December, 1863; and certainly the success of the legal proceedings instituted by the British government against this ship depended in large measure upon evidence which Dudley furnished. The giant iron-clad, *The Warrior*, which was under construction by the same firm, was sold to Denmark a few weeks after the seizure of the *Pampero* in order to escape a similar fate.

Dudley's extensive knowledge of Confederate activities in England resulted in calls for assistance from many quarters. John Bright sought information for use in his speeches; Richard H. Dana, Jr., United States attorney for the district of Massachusetts, called for information to assist in prosecuting the case against the ex-Confederate ship, *Georgia*, which the United States had seized on the high seas after Confederate agents in Liverpool had sold it; the State Department called for evidence to assist in prosecuting its case against the *Peterhoff* and other vessels seized under the doctrine of continuous voyage, and for information about the ownership and possible Confederate connection of the *Deerhound*, the vessel that picked up the survivors from the *Alabama* after her final engagement; George Bemis, who was later to be an assistant secretary of state working on the *Alabama* Claims, sought information which he used in several pamphlets on Britain's unneutral conduct; Evarts, Forbes, Aspinwall and other special agents sent to England by the American government inevitably turned to Dudley for facts and advice; and the London legation repeatedly appealed for help. Moran's letter of July 9, 1864, is typical. "Please let me know the present name of the ship once called the Emily St. Pierre and where she is, if possible. And also any facts at command about the Sumter, Japan, Alexandra, Agrippina, A. D. Vance, Eugenie, or any vessels that actually belong to the rebels."

Dudley not only answered all these calls, but also kept American officials in the European area well informed on other points. He kept the United States Naval authorities in European waters so constantly in-

formed as to the movement of Confederate ships that when in December, 1863, Captain John A. Winslow, in command of the U. S. S. *Kearsarge*, requested Adams and Dayton to issue instructions to American consuls in England and France to inform him of all movements by Confederate vessels, he added, "To Mr. Dudley there is no need of. No advice is necessary for him."

One other type of work that claimed some of Dudley's time was the dissemination of propaganda. No American official in England was especially charged with this work and consequently it was shared by many. He cooperated with the Legation in printing "A Narrative of the Cruise of the *Alabama*, with a list of her officers and men, by one of her crew" which was a statement obtained by Dudley from John Latham. He distributed 30,000 copies of a pamphlet describing the suffering of Union prisoners at the hands of the rebels, and each year he saw that many of England's leading men received copies of the published diplomatic correspondence. In smaller quantities, he distributed other pamphlets and copies of speeches designed to warn Great Britain of the danger of her ways.

All of these activities growing out of the War were in addition to Dudley's normal consular duties, duties which in March, 1864, the State Department informed him he had "conducted with admirable prudence, and with a regard to the interests of the United States deserving of high commendation and imitation."

Dudley's war-time experience in Liverpool caused him to be quite critical of the English people and in the later years of his life to be anti-British in his point of view. In this he did not differ greatly from many of the American officials in England. Benjamin Moran, at London, with whom he corresponded frequently and frankly, wrote to him in May, 1864:

I agree with you about the shameless course of this gov't. from the beginning, and when the day of reckoning comes, if I should be alive, I hope I shall be oblivious of mercy towards this gov't. As usual, they will whine and sniffle for kind treatment and bring up the old *Boston* twaddle about the same Shakspeare [sic], the same Milton, the same race and the same language. But I hope that plaster won't do.

Immediately upon the close of the War in America Dudley found himself confronted with a new problem — the disposal of the property of the late Confederate government. The *Shenandoah*, the *Tallahassee*, the *Sumter*, and the *Rappahannock*, ships of the Confederate Navy, all sought refuge in Liverpool. Dudley promptly asserted a claim to them in the name of the United States. They were not the property of any private individuals, the British government had no right to them, the Confederate government no longer existed, — the government of the United States was the rightful claimant, he insisted. Dudley was support-



ed in this position by the State Department and Great Britain was persuaded to turn over the vessels to the United States. After an attempt to take the *Shenandoah* to the United States ended in failure, primarily because of stormy winter weather, Dudley was authorized to sell the ship, her equipment, and stores at auction and to deposit the proceeds to the credit of the Secretary of the Treasury with the United States Bankers in London. He was to take care that the ship was not sold to any belligerent power and he was instructed to send any private property found on board to the United States. Among the private property accordingly reserved from sale and sent to America were forty-seven chronometers and one sextant taken from as many vessels plundered by the *Shenandoah*, and \$820.40 which the paymaster of the vessel accompanied with an account specifying the ships from which it had been taken and in what amounts. Dudley completed the necessary arrangements for the auction and in April, 1866, sold the ship for 15,582 pounds and 5 shillings; her stores for 1311 pounds, 14 shillings and fourpence; her coal for 85 pounds, 10 shillings; and her provisions for 33 pounds, 17 shillings and fourpence; making a total of just over 17,000 pounds. The government was apparently satisfied with this result for Dudley was promptly authorized to sell the *Sumter* and the *Tallahassee*. This he accomplished in June, 1866, but the returns from their sale fell just short of 5500 pounds. Six months later he was instructed to dispose of the *Rappahannock* and another 5200 pounds were added to the treasury of the United States.

In Liverpool and scattered throughout the British Isles was other property of the Confederate government. This included munitions and supplies of various sorts for which payment had been made but which had not been shipped when the war closed, and cotton which had arrived in England late in the war and had not been sold by Confederate agents when their government collapsed. Most of the cotton was in the hands of Fraser, Trenholm and Company and was immediately under Dudley's eye. However, now, as during the war, he did not confine his interest to Liverpool, and American Consuls throughout Britain, acting under advice from the State Department, turned to Dudley for assistance and advice. Some of this property, though in small amounts, was successfully claimed by the United States. But the great bulk of it, held by Fraser, Trenholm and Company, became involved in complicated and almost endless legal proceedings which were still demanding Dudley's attention when he left the Consulship late in 1872.

After a hurried trip to the United States in the late summer of 1865 to consult with the department about these matters, Dudley instituted a suit against the Liverpool firm for the recovery of the cotton which they still held for the Confederate government. Shortly thereafter Consul Morse at London stepped in and made a compromise agreement with



the firm which authorized them to sell all Confederate property in their hands, to keep the first 150,000 pounds of the proceeds, and to pay the balance to the United States. This settlement was protested by Dudley as far too generous to the Liverpool firm and it was repudiated by Secretary Seward who withdrew all authority from Morse to deal with the problem of Confederate property and broadened the powers of Dudley.

The legal aspects of this problem were handled chiefly by Dudley with the assistance of the British firm of Harvey, Jevons, and Ryley whom he employed year after year to represent the American government. Indeed the legal expenses incurred by Dudley nearly consumed the \$140,000.00 which he received from the sale of Confederate property.

When the problem of the disposal of Confederate property in England first arose, the State Department appointed Caleb Cushing, former attorney general of the United States, to take charge with the expectation that he would go abroad and relieve Dudley of the responsibility for legal proceedings. But Cushing decided to remain in Washington and render such service as he could. This service was mainly the gathering of documentary evidence from the mass of Confederate papers captured by the United States. At the close of 1866, when it was clear that Cushing was not going to England, the Department selected Isaac F. Redfield, former chief justice of Maine, to go over as special counsel. He accepted the appointment and for some two years relieved Dudley of some of this work. But the major responsibility continued to rest with Dudley and when in May, 1868, because of disagreement with Redfield, he asked to be relieved from further connection with the management of proceedings for the recovery of rebel property, Secretary Seward declined to accede to his request, assuring him that the department retained unimpaired confidence in his intelligence and fidelity and was unwilling that trivial differences with Redfield should deprive the government of the services of a discreet and zealous public servant in the last stages of a protracted business which he had done so much to bring to a satisfactory conclusion.

By 1871 Dudley was ready to return home, and he submitted his resignation. His health was poor, his strict enforcement of Consular regulations had brought protests from American ship masters and American merchants in Liverpool, and disgruntled English clerks at the Consulate had filed charges of misappropriation of funds against him. The affairs of the Liverpool Consulate were carefully investigated by the State Department and his resignation was refused with the assurance that the government retained its full confidence in him and needed his services in connection with the preparation of the American case in the arbitration of the Alabama Claims. So Dudley remained at his post for another year, gathering new evidence and affidavits for J. C. Bancroft Davis to use in the American case. When Cushing, Evarts and Waite, the American counsel, arrived in Paris, Dudley crossed the Channel to give them the

benefit of his first hand knowledge of Confederate activities in England.

Early in the fall of 1872, soon after the termination of the arbitration at Geneva, Dudley again tendered his resignation. This time it was accepted. He returned to New Jersey where he took up his residence on a country estate not far from Camden and resumed his practice of the law. Although he was not as active politically as before the war he still maintained his interest. He had made hurried trips to the United States in 1864 and 1868 to participate in the election campaigns of those years and in 1872 he was home in time to speak in behalf of Grant. As late as 1891, less than two years before his death, he was still speaking in Republican campaigns. In that year, upon the urgent invitation of the chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee of Ohio, he made several speeches in that state and helped to win victory for the Republican ticket headed by William McKinley.

In the years after his return to the United States no subject of public interest received more attention from Dudley than the tariff. As a New Jersey Whig and Republican, Dudley had long been a champion of the protective tariff. Henry C. Carey, economist and protectionist, who lived in the neighboring city of Philadelphia, was a friend of long standing. Eleven years residence in England had not weakened Dudley's ardor for protection. Not even a tour of England and the Continent in the company of David Ames Wells, in 1867, just at the time that that economist was abandoning his protectionist principles for free trade, caused Dudley to change his views. In the 1880s when the tariff issue was so prominent, Dudley helped to organize the American Protective Tariff League and served as its vice-president until his death in 1893. He also spoke widely and published frequently in support of protection. He spoke not only in his own state, but also in the neighboring states of Pennsylvania and New York and occasionally in cities as distant as Chicago. His constant theme was that protection was desirable not only for the manufacturer but also for the laborer and the farmer. Dudley was for many years President of the Board of Managers of the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station and had many contacts with other agricultural organizations which enabled him to speak as a friend of the farmer. He insisted that they had nothing to gain from free trade for that would not only diminish the home market for farm products by decreasing the manufacturing element in our country, but would also increase the quantity of farm products seeking this limited market by driving unemployed factory workers to the farm.

Dudley's war-time experiences had left him with no great love for the English and in his Tariff speeches he warmly denounced the efforts of the Cobden Club and the English generally to persuade the United States to adopt the English system of free trade.

"If we abandon Protection as the English desire," he declared, "Eng-

land would then have accomplished what she is striving to attain, namely, cheaper food to feed her people and a more extended and better market in which to sell her manufactured commodities. She would be enabled to sell much more and at better prices, and save in the food she now has to buy, and her gain would be enormous. It would amount to hundreds of millions of dollars every year. This would not be tribute to the Eastern manufacturers that we should then be paying, but tribute to England; and no class of society would pay more of this tribute than the farmers of America. And any tax or duty they now pay, or all the taxes of every kind which they now pay, if put together, would not amount to the one-half of this tribute which they would then be paying to England."

Although Thomas Haines Dudley was active in American public life for half a century, in the final analysis his place in history must rest upon his eleven years service as Consul at Liverpool and more particularly upon his war-time services in that position. Grant, Meade, Sherman and their armies may have played the largest part in persuading the British government to alter its ways, but Dudley's contribution, as more than one of his contemporaries suggested, was equal to that of a general in the field. No one would claim for him a place in the first rank of American public men but certainly oblivion is not his proper reward.

## Banner Song

WILLIAM H. HOLCOMBE, M.D.

See! our banner floating high,  
Star in freedom's shining sky;  
Soldiers! follow it or die—  
Star of death or victory!

Beauty's hands its tissues wove,  
Glory lends its aid to love;  
Honor, truth, and God approve;  
Comrades! follow it or die!

At the tyrant's call arrayed  
Hireling troops our land invade;  
Dear Virginia cries for aid!  
Answer, cheering to her cry!

Forward! spirits brave and true!  
Forward! till the foe's in view!  
Death is the invader's due;  
Death to hateful tyranny!

Soldiers! march at duty's call,  
Meet the bayonet and the ball;  
Front the cannon, scale the wall,  
Shouting, Death or liberty!

Nations watch with eager eyes;  
He who lives shall share the prize;  
He is doubly crowned who dies.  
Free or dead, be this our cry!

Fame! inspire us with thy charm;  
Angels! shield our souls from harm;  
Just our cause and strong our arm;  
Forward, comrades! Do or die!

## For Collectors Only

EDITED BY RALPH G. NEWMAN

18 East Chestnut Street

Chicago 11, Illinois

### CIVIL WAR FICTION

PUBLICATION OF MAC KINLAY KANTOR'S *Andersonville* and the tremendous interest shown in the novel as well as the controversy caused by its publication, has focused attention on the fiction of the Civil War. Collectors who may have overlooked it are now seeking first editions of the same author's *Long Remember*. They are also seeking first editions of the other great Civil War novels and rare book dealers are being canvassed for copies of Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*, Clifford Dowdey's *Bugles Blow No More* and the inevitable *The Red Badge of Courage* by Stephen Crane.

This causes the conductor of this column and others who are "collection-minded" to speculate as to what the great Civil War novels might be. It seems logical to devote this column to the subject since our three previous issues have been devoted to the non-fiction that might be considered for "A Union Book Shelf."

Three years ago John Cook Wyllie, Curator of Rare Books in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, set out to discover what the six "best" Civil War novels might be. I don't recall what his final list looked like, but I remember my choices, which I believe I still uphold and herewith present for your comment:

BENET, STEPHEN VINCENT (1898-1943), *John Brown's Body*. [Garden City, 1928.] (If this title does not qualify as a novel I would substitute the following)

BOYD, JAMES (1888-1944), *Marching On*. New York, 1927.

CRANE, STEPHEN (1871-1900), *The Red Badge of Courage*. New York, 1895.

DE FOREST, JOHN WILLIAM (1826-1906), *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty*. New York, 1867.

DOWDEY, CLIFFORD (1904- ), *Bugles Blow No More*. Boston, [1937].

MITCHELL, MARGARET (1900-1949), *Gone With the Wind*. New York, 1936.

SCOTT, EVELYN [D.], (1893- ), *The Wave*. New York, [1929].

I hope the readers of *Civil War History* will submit their lists of six best Civil War novels. If sufficient replies are received we will devote one of our future columns to an analysis of the collective comment on the subject.

At the end of this column I am submitting a list of some of the outstanding Civil War novels from 1864 to 1955. Many of your favorites will be missing, but attach no significance to this omission. I am merely offering my own "working" list for whatever help it may render to you. Additional titles will be welcomed and included in our final check-list. You will note only three titles from the Civil War period or immediately thereafter. One, *Miss Ravenel's Conversion . . .*, I believe to be the first great novel of the period. In recent years publication of the same author's Civil War and Reconstruction experiences (*A Volunteer's Adventures: A Union Captain's Record of the Civil War*, 1946 and *A Union Officer in the Reconstruction*, 1948) has directed the attention of the Civil War enthusiast back to his early novel. John Esten Cooke and John Townsend Trowbridge appear on the list for sentimental as well as literary reasons. *Cudjo's Cave* and *Mohun* started many a youngster reading Civil War literature. Both authors knew the war from personal participation as soldier and journalist. Of the modern books, I believe the most neglected is Evelyn Scott's *The Wave*. This great novel which makes the war itself the hero, was completely overlooked for many years, but now is slowly gaining well-merited recognition. I had a copy of this book in which the author wrote the following inscription, "This was the first of a series of best-selling novels on the subject—by other people."

Here for better or worse is my "Civil War shelf"; I hope it will be of some help to you in selecting your favorite novels dealing with the War between the States. I'll be looking for your lists and will be very anxious to learn of other obscure but deserving titles to which the readers of *Civil War History* will direct our attention.

ALLEN, [WILLIAM] HERVEY (1889-1949), *Action at Aquila*. New York, [1938].

BELLAH, JAMES WARNER (1899- ), *The Valiant Virginians*. New York, [1953].

BENET, STEPHEN VINCENT (1898-1943), *John Brown's Body*. [Garden City, 1928].\*

BOYD, JAMES (1888-1944), *Marching On*. New York, 1927.



- CABLE, GEORGE W[ashington] (1844-1925), *Kincaid's Battery*. New York, 1908.
- CATTON, BRUCE (1899- ), *Banners at Shenandoah*. Garden City, 1955.
- CHURCHILL, WINSTON (1871-1947), *The Crisis*. New York, 1901.
- COOKE, JOHN ESTEN (1830-1886), *Mohun; or, the last days of Lee and his Paladins*. New York, 1869.
- CRABB, ALFRED LELAND (1884- ), *A Mockingbird Sang at Chickamauga*. Indianapolis & New York, [1949].
- CRANE, STEPHEN (1871-1900), *The Red Badge of Courage*. New York, 1895.
- DE FOREST, JOHN WILLIAM (1826-1906), *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty*. New York, 1867.
- DOWDEY, CLIFFORD (1904- ), *Bugles Blow No More*. Boston, [1937].  
——— *Where My Love Sleeps*. Boston, [1945].  
——— *The Proud Retreat*. Garden City, 1953.
- FOOTE, SHELBY (1916- ), *Shiloh*. New York, 1952.
- HART, SCOTT, *Eight April Days*. New York, 1949.
- JOHNSTON, MARY (1870-1936), *The Long Roll*. Boston, 1911.  
——— *Cease Firing*. Boston, 1912.
- KANE, HARNETT T[homas] (1910- ), *Bride of Fortune. A novel based on the life of Mrs. Jefferson Davis*. Garden City, 1948.  
——— *The Smiling Rebel. A novel based on the life of Belle Boyd*. Garden City, 1955.
- KANTOR, MACKINLAY (1904- ), *Long Remember*. New York, 1934.  
——— *Andersonville*. Cleveland and New York, [1955].
- LANCASTER, BRUCE (1896- ), *The Scarlet Patch*. Boston, [1949].  
——— *No Bugles Tonight*. Boston, [1950].
- MASON, F[rancis] van Wyck (1897- ), *Proud New Flags*. Philadelphia and New York, [1951].  
——— *Blue Hurricane*. Philadelphia and New York, [1954].
- MASTERS, EDGAR LEE (1869-1950), *The Tide of Time*. New York, [1937].
- MITCHELL, MARGARET (1900-1949), *Gone With the Wind*. New York, 1936.
- NOBLE, HOLLISTER (1900- ), *Woman with a Sword. The biographical novel of Anna Ella Carroll*. Garden City, 1948.
- O'CONNOR, RICHARD (1915- ), *Guns of Chickamauga*. Garden City, 1955.
- PENNELL, JOSEPH STANLEY (1908- ), *History of Rome Hanks and kindred matters*. New York, 1944.
- SANDBURG, CARL (1878- ), *Remembrance Rock*. New York, [1948].
- SCOTT, EVELYN [D.] (1893- ), *The Wave*. New York, [1929].
- SINCLAIR, HAROLD (1907- ), *American Years*. Garden City, 1938.
- SINCLAIR, UPTON [Beall] (1878- ), *Manassas, a novel of the Civil War*. New York, 1904.

STONE, IRVING (1903- ), *Immortal Wife. The biographical novel of Jessie Benton Fremont*. Garden City, 1944.

STREET, JAMES [HOWELL] (1903-1954), *By Valour and Arms*. New York, 1944.

THOMASON, JOHN W[illiam], Jr. (1893-1944), *Lone Star Preacher*. New York, 1941.

TROWBRIDGE, JOHN TOWNSEND (1827-1916), *Cudjo's Cave*. Boston, 1864.

WILLIAMS, BEN AMES (1889-1953), *House Divided*. Boston, 1947.

\* There is much disagreement as to whether *John Brown's Body* belongs in this list. I maintain that it is a novel in verse, but will bow to the majority opinion. R.G.N.

# Notes & Queries

EDITED BY BOYD B. STUTLER

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Charleston, West Virginia

AN OPEN FORUM FOR READERS of *Civil War History* for questions on phases of the Great Conflict, and for illuminating notes on newly discovered or unrecorded sidelights of the war. Contributions are invited; address Notes and Queries Editor.

## QUERIES

### 11. *Lincoln's U.S. Supreme Court Cases:*

Briefs filed by Abraham Lincoln in his two cases tried in the Supreme Court of the United States are missing; a long search has uncovered nothing more than an outline of Lincoln's oral argument in one case. But it is possible that copies of the briefs still exist buried in the forgotten papers of associate counsel, or other lawyers interested in the causes. In the case of Lewis, for use of Longworth, vs. Lewis, as administrator of Broadwell (1849), attorneys of record are for the plaintiff, "Mr. Wright;" for the defendant, "Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Lincoln." In Forsyth vs. Reynolds (1853), the case was argued by "Mr. Williams" for the plaintiff, and briefs were filed by "Messrs. Lincoln and Gamble." "Mr. Chase" argued for the defendant, and a brief was filed by "Mr. Purple." No first names are given in any of the printed reports. Query: Who were Messrs. Wright, Lawrence, Gamble, Williams and Purple? Where are their papers?

*Benjamin Barondess*

### 12. *Who Was the Army Surgeon?*

An interesting pamphlet of 28 pages, *Reminiscences of an Army Surgeon, 1860-1863*, unsigned and without date or place of printing, was issued for private circulation. The text indicates that the author was appointed Assistant Surgeon in 1860, and was stationed at Camp Verdi, about 60 miles north of San Antonio, Texas. In December, 1860, he was

enroute to Fort McIntosh; reached San Antonio on December 30 and there met Colonel Robert E. Lee. Paroled in Texas, he later served at Fort Warren, and was sent to the Armory Hospital in Washington, where he met Lincoln. I take the surgeon to be either Charles H. Alden, Orrin Webster, John Van Zandt, or Charles C. Byrne; my list of names is suggested merely because they were the only men appointed Assistant Surgeons in 1860 who were still in service when this man went to Washington in 1865. Query: Who was the author of *Reminiscences of an Army Surgeon, 1860-1863*?

Carl Haverlin

13. *Kite-dropping Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation:*

I am much interested in propaganda leaflets. I have read some place that General Benjamin F. Butler had copies made of Lincoln's amnesty proclamation and dropped them over Confederate lines by use of a kite. Query: Can anyone cite the source of this statement, and, if known, where can I get one of the leaflets, or obtain a copy of one? Also, what is known about the Union sympathy of Mrs. Laura Ann Arnold, sister of General Stonewall Jackson?

R. K. Haerle

*Answer, in part:* Laura Ann lived with her husband, Jonathan Arnold, and family at Beverly, (W.) Virginia; early in the war she left her home to take residence in the Northern States, where she remained during the period of hostilities and for several years afterwards. As this defection did not concern the career of her famous brother, biographers have omitted mention or details. Private source material exists, but cannot be cited.

14. *Jackson's Religious Studies and European Trip:*

Public interest has been stimulated in the life and career of Lt. General Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson, CSA, by his recent election to the Hall of Fame, where a bronze bust will be placed to rank with those of the greatest of our nation. Here are three questions: Was Jackson a student of Calvin's *Institutes*? Who was his favorite teacher at West Point and why? What historic shrines did Jackson visit on his trip to Europe?

E. T. Crowson

*Answer, in part:* Major Thomas J. Jackson, then a professor at Virginia Military Institute, spent the summer of 1856 in Europe, sailing from New York on July 9 and returning to Lexington early in October. His letters to his sister, Laura, in which he details his itinerary are printed in Thomas J. Arnold's *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson*, pp. 246-253. A letter to his aunt, Mrs. Alfred Neale, detailing places visited, and also a letter of advice to Jaquelin Smith, then about to set out for a tour of Europe, are found in Roy Bird Cook's *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, pp. 142 and 149-151 (1948 edition). Landing at Liverpool, Jackson visited Chester, Eaton Hall, Glasgow, the Scotch lakes, Stirling

Castle, Edinburgh, York, London, Antwerp, Brussels, Waterloo, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Bonn, Frankfort-on-Main, Heidelberg, Baden-Baden, Strasburg, Basle, Swiss lakes, Freiburg, Geneva, Milan, Venice, Florence, Naples, Rome, Marseilles, Paris, London, and thence to Liverpool to take passage home. His expressed interests were in cultural things and the wonders of nature rather than in the military or historic. He was impressed by the walls of Chester, but though he visited Waterloo he makes no mention of having toured the battlefield.

15. *General A. P. Hill's Wartime Diary:*

I am writing a biography of General Ambrose P. Hill, CSA, and find that much needed material is lacking, particularly the diary kept by the General during the war. Also, need information on the life of Mrs. Hill after the death of her husband in 1865. Query: Can any reader give me the present location of General Hill's diary?

(Rev.) Cameron L. Meacham

ANSWERS

Query 4. *Custer's Commission:*

Joseph M. O'Brien, Route 2, Washington, Pa., writes: To answer the query of Dr. Richard R. Boone, (June, 1955), the source of the statement that George A. Custer received his commission as Brigadier General by administrative error can be traced, I believe, to a moving picture about Custer (starring Errol Flynn) issued about 1938. I saw the picture; it presented substantially the story that the General's commission came through error. I find no trace of such belief before the movie appeared. The statement cannot be substantiated. Custer was advanced from Captain to Brigadier General in one jump, but Captains Wesley Merritt and E. J. Farnsworth, who were also serving as aides to General Pleasanton, were so advanced on the same day. Cullum's *Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy* says the officers were promoted on June 29, 1863, but Special Order 175, Army of the Potomac, assigned them to duty as Generals on June 28.

Query 6. *Jeb Stuart's Death:*

Samuel H. Miller, 13 Beaumont Avenue, Catonsville, Md., gives the following answer to James E. Whipple's query (June, 1955) about the wounding and death of General J. E. B. Stuart: Major H. B. McClellan, who was on the field at Yellow Tavern when Stuart was wounded, quotes Captain Gustavus Dorsey, Co. K, 1st Virginia Cavalry, on the circumstances of Stuart's injury. The final charge by Union troops under General Custer came at about 4:00 P.M.; Dorsey was at Stuart's side when he was shot by an unhorsed Union trooper between 4:15 and 4:30 P.M., on May 11, 1864. (McClellan, *Life and Campaigns of Major General J. E. B. Stuart*, p. 413). The wounded man was taken by ambulance to Richmond to the home of his brother-in-law, Dr. Charles Brewer, arriving there

"some time after dark." Throughout that night and until noon of the 12th hope was held out for his recovery, but as the hours passed it became obvious that the wound would be fatal. Heros von Borcke, the devoted aide to Stuart, records that "at about 7 o'clock death relieved the suffering hero." (*Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence*, vol. 2, p. 314). The *Richmond Examiner* recorded the exact time of death as 7:38 p.m., May 12, 1864. (Reprinted in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 1879, p. 107). Lt. Colonel I. Ridgeway Trimble, M.D., one time chief of surgical service, 118th General Hospital, reviewed the cause of Stuart's death around 1943 and attributed it to peritonitis and hemorrhage. (Freeman's *Lee's Lieutenants*, vol. 3, pp. 761-763). I find nothing in the source material to suggest that death came immediately. General Stuart lived for about 27 hours after his wounding at Yellow Tavern. At the time of his death he was 31 years, 3 months and 6 days old. He is buried in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

E. N. Brandt, Associate Editor of *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, Pa., William S. Davis, Moline, Ill., and Joseph M. O'Brien, Washington, Pa., also answered the inquiry, citing sources substantially as above.

Query 8. *Abram Lincoln, U. S. Army:*

Answer to the query of Roy Bird Cook (June, 1955) about Abram Lincoln, West Point, Class of 1845, is found in Cullum's *Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy*, vol. 2. Abram B. Lincoln, born in New York, was admitted to the Military Academy on July 1, 1840; graduated July 1, 1845, and on the same day was brevetted 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 1st Infantry. He served on frontier duty at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 1845-1846, and for a brief time at Camp Kearney, Mo., in 1846. Commissioned 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry, July 12, 1846. In the War with Mexico, 1846-1847, he was engaged in the siege of Vera Cruz, capture of San Antonio, and battles of Cerro Gordo, Churubusco and Molino Del Rey. He was severely wounded in the Molino Del Rey engagement, and was brevetted 1st Lieutenant, September 8, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in that battle. On return to the homeland at the end of the war, Lieutenant Lincoln was on garrison duty at Plattsburg Barracks and Fort Ontario, New York, 1849-1851, and on sick leave of absence, 1851-1852. He died at Pilatka, Fla., on April 15, 1852, aged 32.

## NOTES

*An Irate Texan Writes The Atlantic Monthly:*

In the pleasant and interesting avocation of assembling letters, manuscripts, documents and other material relating to the Civil War — more particularly on the side of the Confederacy — I have acquired a number of unusual ones. Some of the most interesting and illuminating were not



written by the great generals and civil leaders, but by the plain man who had something to say. Eye-witness descriptions of battles are among them, as are letters to families and sweethearts. Some are treasured for their humor — both intentional and unconscious. The amusingly expressed and ill-spelled letters of the common soldier rank high in this group.

Sometimes a letter reveals the tense and bitter feeling that existed just before and during the period of hostilities; many display anger and are filled with insults. A good example of this latter class is found in the letter of an irate Texan, dated November 6, 1860, addressed to the Editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, published in Boston, who was a subscriber to that famous old magazine but was completely disgusted with its editorial policies. He had a direct action suggestion to cure the condition. Here is his truly remarkable letter:

Springville, Wood Co., Texas  
Nov. 6th, 1860

Sir:

When I subscribed for the *Atlantic Monthly*, I had no thought that it was conducted by an Abolitionist, or that it advocated the principles, or rather the want of principles of that party. But I see from the October number of your periodical, that I was mistaken. You utter sentiments in that number of your *Monthly*, which if spoken in this state, would bring you in unhealthy proximity to a *ten foot rope & a post oak tree*. I cannot think of anything that would give me more pleasure than to officiate on such an occasion. And what a sure & speedy road to fame. You would share immortality with the *pious John Brown*. And if you were hung, what a pecuniary blessing it might prove to your families — for then your abolition friends, who never gave a cent to any other cause, and who would not hesitate to rob their own father's grave, to obtain the silver coin on the parental eyes — these Abolition friends, would subscribe most liberally to the support of "*the Martyr's*" family. There were many gentlemen from the Northern States, and of *your persuasion*, in Texas this summer. The *People of Texas* became very much attached to these gentlemen, & they stood *very high* in society — *too high* indeed. For some of them whilst occupying very elevated positions under our beautiful trees, were suddenly precipitated from the hastily & imperfectly constructed scaffolds upon which they happened to be standing and the sudden jar to their *necks*, proved such a shock to their constitutions, that they have never entirely recovered from it.

Our Texas carpenters construct such frail scaffolds, that northern men should be very careful how they trust themselves upon them — particularly, as in falling there is great danger of their becoming *entangled in the ropes that may be hanging about*.

Gentlemen (excuse me for using the term gentlemen in addressing you, for I do so only in a Pickwickian sense), now dropping all ambiguity of expression, and speaking plainly about a delicate matter, these abolition friends of yours, were hung by the neck, to our post oak trees, with *good Boston made rope*, for daring to come amongst us preaching their infamous doctrines, & inciting our slaves to revolt. And gentlemen if you were here & were to utter such senti-

ments as you write in your *Monthly*, *we would hang your worthless bodies to a tree in thirty minutes*. Gentlemen (excuse me again, but remember it is only in a *Pickwickian* sense) you are the most unfortunate of men. For you are not only members of the most infamous party that ever disgraced Earth, or shocked high Heaven — but you are also members of a community, the most depraved on Earth. There is but one place on Earth that can compete with Boston in iniquity — and that place is *Oberlin*, Ohio. These are the only two cities in the world, where the Negroes and the white people live on a footing of perfect social equality. Some people object to this state of things — but I never did — for I freely admit that Negroes have a right to claim social equality with the white people of *Oberlin & Boston*, although they have no right to claim equality with the white people of any other part of the World. A friend of mine had a Negro a few years ago who committed suicide, because his master had threatened to send him to Boston as a punishment for his misconduct. The Negro told his wife, before committing the rash act, that he knew that he would go to Hell for his many misdeeds — but that he could not bear the thought of being sent to Boston & being compelled to live there on terms of social equality with the white people of that depraved city.

It has been suggested as a reason why the people of Boston are so much more depraved than were the people of Sodom & Gomora, is due in a great measure to the prevalence amongst them & the frequently handling of copper cents. There must be some truth in this — for we know that copper when taken internally is an active poison to the body — And I firmly believe, that there is *moral poison* about the *base metal* — And that when it is constantly carried in the pockets & frequently handled that it *demoralizes & debases* the people who use it.

The Southern people, thank God, use no base metal in their currency — nothing but silver and gold — and their superior intelligence, refinement & virtue must be attributed to the *happy influence of African slavery & the absence of copper cents*. And here let me suggest, that it might be considered a smart thing in you, if you would reply to this part of my argument, by saying that "judging from my letter, you supposed I might have handled a good deal of copper in my youth." I merely threw out this hint — knowing that such *chuckleheads* as yourselves would never think of such a retort unless it was suggested to you. You breathe a polluted atmosphere — and vessels sailing from Boston to other ports, ought to be compelled to undergo a quarantine of forty years. Your city is the hotbed of all that is low & debasing. There is no ism that ever emanated from the brain of a crazy man or scoundrel too vile to be adopted by the people of Boston. Your city is the only place in the United States, where men have dared to get up & denounce the memory of our noble slaveholder, the great Washington. You spit & trample upon the constitution of your country. You deride & denounce the Supreme Court of the United States. You have denounced & discarded the bible itself — and called for another bible & another God — *for an Anti-slavery bible & an Anti-slavery God*. — You have substituted for the religion of the lowly Jesus, the mistrious nonsense of Swedenborg, and the *ranting rascality of Theodore Parker*. For common sense you have substituted uncommon nonsense — dealt out to you regularly by Emerson, in an unintelligible language. You call him "A Great

Thinker," because his thoughts are so great that you cannot comprehend them — and he himself does not understand what they mean. Whenever the "Great Thinker" lays a new thought, everybody in Boston, goes about *cackling* — when it is nothing in the world but a *chalk egg*. O' you are a miserable rascally set — and when you die, you will all go to a place worse, if possible, than Boston. You need not send any more of your rascally periodicals to this office. But you may send me the last congressional speech of the eloquent & courageous Sumner — the speech he made *after poor Preston Brooks was dead & buried*. I have his first speech made whilst Brooks was living. That was an eloquent thing & made a great impression on Brooks — and it must be confessed that Brooks' cane made a great impression on Sumner. What a great lubberly coward he must be — no Negro on a cotton plantation, no well trained pointer dog, ever received a thrashing more meekly & submissively, than he did. And then, to go all over Europe, whimpering & crying & pulling off his coat & exhibiting the scars, on his well thrashed back. I wish you would find out from Sumner (in a delicate way) whether his back has got entirely well yet — and if it has not, try to persuade him to use a bottle of *Mustang Linament* — for it is said to be a most excellent thing for old sores.

Yours, with *very little esteem*

A. H. Shepherd.

It may well be wondered if he got a reply, and if so, what the Editor had to say to him.

Van Dyk MacBride

#### *Stephen Pomeroy's Ride:*

Paul Revere rode a few miles to save the military stores at Lexington and Concord. General Sheridan rode twenty miles to save his Army from defeat at Cedar Creek — but Stephen Pomeroy walked and rode sixty miles through dangers to warn of General Lee's advance into Pennsylvania and the concentration of his troops about Gettysburg. Pomeroy's story was written by S. M. Short and was first published in *Albright College Bulletin*, November, 1910. According to his story, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia had bored deep into central Pennsylvania; the Union forces were scattered and neither President Lincoln nor Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, knew where to concentrate them.

"Meanwhile," says the narrator, "Lee was gathering his forces about Gettysburg. Citizens of that and neighboring towns saw the necessity of getting word to Harrisburg and Washington, but all means of communication were destroyed and the country was well guarded. Several young men from Chambersburg had attempted to carry word to the State Capitol, but all had failed; one young man had been obliged to swallow the dispatch he carried to keep it from falling into the hands of the Confederates.

"On the evening of June 29, 1863, Stephen Pomeroy — who had just returned home from a nine months enlistment in the Union Army — went from his home at Roxbury to Chambersburg to see, as he says, 'how

things were moving.' He found the town in the hands of the Confederates and no one was allowed to leave it. He was met on the street by Judge Kimmel, who recognized him as the son of his colleague associate judge.

"Judge Kimmel took Pomeroy into a small room, locked the door, and then said that the country was in very great danger, that the Confederates were concentrating their forces about Gettysburg and that neither Lincoln nor Curtin were aware of it. He then said: 'Steve, can you get a message there?' Pomeroy agreed to try. Judge Kimmel wrote a telegram, placed it in the buckle-strap of Pomeroy's trousers, and started him on his dangerous journey.

"Mr. Pomeroy tried to get away from the town by creeping through a wheat field, but was detected by the guards who called to him to halt, threatening to shoot. Pomeroy ran on — he walked fourteen miles to Roxbury where he secured a horse which he rode to Concord, where he exchanged it for a fresh mount. When he reached Concord Narrows he was halted by men who were stationed there — among them were friends who were surprised to see him as he had been reported killed in the Chancellorsville battle. His next stop was at the Rev. David Beale's at Honey Grove, where he again exchanged horses; then made another exchange of mounts at Academia. He arrived at Port Royal at about 10 o'clock on the night of June 30th, sent the dispatch to Governor Curtin and then enjoyed a well earned night's rest at the home of his aunt.

"Governor Curtin was in his office with Colonel A. K. McClure and a number of other advisers when the dispatch arrived. It had no name attached to it and at first he was a little suspicious, but Colonel McClure, who knew the country thoroughly, advised him to accept it at full value. Curtin sent the word to Lincoln and the result was that the Union Army was turned on Gettysburg just in time to save it from defeat. Governor Curtin always maintained that it was this message that saved the day at Gettysburg and turned the tide of the war.

"Just twenty years later, in 1883, the Presbytery met at Bellefonte and the war Governor was entertaining a number of ministers at his home, among them the Rev. W. Stephen Pomeroy. Governor Curtin related some stories of wartime, and among them he told the story of the important message — but said that he had never been able to learn the name of the sender. Then Rev. Pomeroy, who for twenty years had kept the story of the ride to himself, told his side of the story."

*Randolph H. Pomeroy*

#### *Confederate Study Club in England:*

Study of the American Civil War and its personnel is not confined to our home country — an active Confederate Research Club operates in England, with headquarters at Portsmouth, but with a membership that stretches around the globe. Mr. Patrick C. Courtney, Secretary-Treasurer, writes: "There is hardly any story attached to the founding of the Con-

federate Research Club. In 1952 the film *Gone With the Wind* was re-issued in Great Britain; I saw it on two occasions. My interest was aroused and I later read the book. At the same time I had frequent discussions with friends about the Confederacy; by February, 1953, the Confederate Research Club had been founded with three members. We soon found that there were many who shared the same interest, and we now have a membership of 63, some in the United Kingdom, some in America, and even three in Australia." The main activity of the Club is to provide a link between all these people, and by publishing an official journal — *The New Index* — which is devoted to the military, naval and civil history of the Confederate States of America. The journal takes its name from *The Index*, the Confederate information and propaganda publication founded in London in May, 1862, by Henry Hotze, and continued until August, 1865. (For *The Index* and its purpose, see Richard B. Harwell's "The Creed of a Propagandist," *Journalism Quarterly*, Emory University, Ga., Spring, 1951; also issued as a separate). The official address of the group is Patrick C. Courtney, Secretary-Treasurer, Confederate Research Club, 164 Newcome Road, Fratton, Portsmouth, Hampshire, England.

*The Signal Service in the Civil War:*

When the Civil War broke the U. S. Army had but one signal officer — Major Albert J. Myer, who had been an Army surgeon with an interest in the deaf and in sign language. He had worked out a system of visual signaling, using flags by day and torches by night, but it was not until 1860 that he was assigned to set up a signal service. It was from this small beginning that the field signal corps was developed — much of the history of that development is wrapped up in the ten pages of Myer's *Report of the Operation and Duties of the Signal Department of the Army, 1860-1865*, (no place or date), of which but two copies are known to exist. The New York Public Library has microfilmed this important document. The positive microfilm is available from the Library's Photographic Service at \$2.00.

## A Rebel Bill of Fare

J. H. Early, Surgeon of the Seventeenth Iowa regiment, found the following copy of a bill of fare in the rebel camps at Vicksburgh. While it is a capital specimen of burlesque, it is no less a melancholy specimen of burlesque upon the rebel rations of mule flesh indulged in by them during the last day of the siege:

### HOTEL DE VICKSBURGH

*Bill of Fare for July, 1863*

*Soup:* Mule Tail

*Boiled:* Mule bacon with poke greens. Mule ham canvassed.

*Roast:* Mule sirloin. Mule rump stuffed with rice.

*Vegetables:* Peas and rice.

*Entrees:* Mule head stuffed à la mode. Mule beef jerked à la Mexicana. Mule ears fricasseed à la gotch. Mule side stewed, new style, hair on. Mule spare ribs plain. Mule liver hashed.

*Side Dishes:* Mule salad. Mule hoof soused. Mule brains à la omelette. Mule kidney stuffed with peas. Mule tripe fried in pea-meal butter. Mule tongue cold à la Bray.

*Jellies:* Mule foot.

*Pastry:* Pea-meal pudding, blackberry sauce. Cottonwood berry pies. China berry tart.

*Dessert:* White oak acorns. Beech nuts. Blackberry leaf tea. Genuine confederate coffee.

*Liquors:* Mississippi Water, vintage of 1492, superior, \$3. Limestone Water, late importation, very fine, \$2.75. Spring Water, Vicksburgh brand, \$1.50.

Meals at all hours. Gentlemen to wait upon themselves. Any inattention on the part of servants will be promptly reported at the office.

JEFF DAVIS & CO., Proprietors

CARD—The proprietors of the justly celebrated Hotel de Vicksburgh, having enlarged and refitted the same, are now prepared to accommodate all who may favor them with a call. Parties arriving by the river or Grant's inland route, will find Grape, Cannister & Co.'s carriages at the landing or any depot on the line of intrenchments. Buck, Ball & Co. take charge of all baggage. No effort will be spared to make the visit of all as interesting as possible.



# The Continuing War

EDITED BY E. B. LONG

333 South Edson

Lombard, Illinois

IT SEEMED THAT LAST FALL'S FINE LIST of Civil War books would last a while and perhaps some of them would get read but that is not to be, for more are on the way. With the Civil War Book Club in full swing, with increasing publicity, with the new Civil War Centennial Association and of course the *Lincoln Herald* and this journal, not to mention the Round Tables, the impetus for new publications is mighty strong.

One of the most ambitious projects is the *Centennial History of the Civil War* to be written by Bruce Catton and published by Doubleday. This three volume work will first appear in 1961 and is to be the product of careful research, study, and of course the brilliant writing of Pulitzer Prize winner Catton. The editor of this column deems it a great honor to have been engaged to work with a scholar like Bruce Catton and to do research on what we hope and believe will be one of the most important undertakings in Civil War writing.

The Confederacy will receive some deserved attention soon. Of course, we are looking forward to the second volume of Hudson Strode's *Jefferson Davis* with its balanced appraisal of the Confederate president. The Confederate Publishing Company of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, has announced a series of monographs, *Confederate Centennial Studies*. The first number of the series, scheduled for early in 1956, will be *The Decisive Battle of Nashville* by Stanley F. Horn. The Editor-in-Chief of the series is W. Stanley Hoole of the University of Alabama. Some of the other historians who will contribute to the series and their tentative subjects are: William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin, *The Lincoln Plan of Reconstruction* and/or *Post-War Southern Conservatism*; Weymouth T. Jordan, Florida State University, *Charles Goethe Baylor* and *South Agrar-*

ian Nationalism and/or Southern Agriculture on the Eve of the Civil War; Joseph H. Parks, Birmingham-Southern College, *The Civil War Career of General Bishop Leonidas Polk*; Jay Monaghan, Santa Barbara College, *M. Jeff Thompson and the War Between the States*; E. M. Coulter, University of Georgia, *Lost Generation: The Life and Death of James Barrow*, C.S.A.; Charles G. Summersell, University of Alabama, *Raphael Semmes and the Cruise of the C.S.S. Sumter*; Frank E. Vandiver, Rice Institute, *Confederate Logistics*; Charles S. Davis, Florida State University, *Colin J. McRae, Financial Agent of the Confederacy*; Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky, *The Hero in the Southern Confederacy*; Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College, *Emancipation Without Armed Conflict?*; James W. Silver, University of Mississippi, *The Church as a Propaganda Agency in the Confederacy*. Frank Vandiver is making a study of the Confederate high command. Stanley Horn is to edit John E. Cooke's *Wearing of the Gray*, and Richard Harwell is editing *Kate Cummings, Journal of Her Life*.

A one volume study of Gen. Lee's war years by Burke Davis, biographer of Stonewall Jackson, will appear early in 1956, as will a new edition of William Pittenger's *The Great Locomotive Chase*, an account of the capture of the steam engine the General.

In April Bruce Catton's *This Hallowed Ground* will be published in Doubleday's Mainstream of America series. It will cover the North in the Civil War. Earl Schenck Miers is editing a new edition of the *Memoirs of General Sherman*. William D. Maxwell has written *Lincoln's Fifth Wheel*, the story of the U.S. Sanitary Commission. William Lammers of Milwaukee has completed a much needed biography of Gen. William S. Rosecrans. Another life of Ben Butler is in the works, this time by Richard S. West, author of *Gideon Welles*.

New York attorney John J. Duff is making a study of Lincoln's career as a lawyer. Duff believes that much new material has been found since others have worked on the subject and plans for his study to be for the layman as well as the lawyer. Dick Squire is completing *Lincolnians: A Specialized Biographical Dictionary* which will carry brief biographies of Lincoln writers, students and collectors.

## Book Reviews

EDITED BY CHARLES T. MILLER

B-11 University Hall

Iowa City, Iowa

*Andersonville*. By MacKinlay Kantor. (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company. 1955. Pp. 767. \$5.00.)

ANDERSONVILLE IS A GREAT NOVEL. But it is no more a great novel because it is set in the time of our Civil War than Tolstoy's *War and Peace* is a great novel because it has the Napoleonic campaign as a background. Although both books capture to perfection the grim dynamics of the wars, their true magnitude flows from the sensitivities and compassionate understanding of the authors. Both writers have an extraordinary quality of insight that allows them to pass back and forth between the exterior viewpoint and the very hearts and minds of their characters. This fluidity of perception illuminates their people for us so that we see not only that they are caught in a web, sometimes not of their own making, but how it was that they came to be caught. We know what forces, from within and without, hurry them toward their private precipices, and behind them we hear the shrill cries, dominant and harrying, of their pursuing individual furies.

If this reviewer does not name *Andersonville* as the American *War and Peace*, it is not because he believes Mr. Kantor's book to be unworthy of the comparison. Rather, it is due to a profound respect for both novels and a conviction that not only great critical judgment but time as well are required for such bracketing.

*Andersonville* is a story of captivity. The author's preceding novels of the Civil War were but prelude to its major statement. *Long Remember* (1934), centering on Daniel Bale at Gettysburg, poses but does not resolve the problem of war and the individual. *Arouse and Beware* (1936), concerning the flight of Oliver Clark and Prentiss Barrow from Belle Island, is a classic novel of escape. Now in 1955, after the slow distillation of two decades, the author seems to declare as his matured opinion that "in war as in life there is no escape except through the gate of the human spirit." For here he makes it plain that each finds his precipice to be an abyss of engulfment or an escarpment to surmount.

The diapason of this book is hunger—the driving frightening hungers for food, water, and sex, and the dread sickening hungers for things lost, for the beloved, for the dead, for freedom, for admiration, dignity, and self-respect.

In his superb delineations of Ira, Veronica, and Lucy Claffey; of Harrell Elkins, Winder, and Wirz; of the limber-legged Widow Tebbs and her malignant brood; of Willie Collins, Cato and Effie Dillard, Willie Mann, Seneca Bean, Eben Dolliver, and perhaps most of all, Nathan Dreyfoos—to name but a few—Mr. Kantor has created three-dimensional men and women with pulsing motivations. When they are left alone for a time while the author looks and probes elsewhere, we know that they are not hung up like marionettes to await their next call on stage. And when we see them again, the continuity is unbroken; they have changed, aged, dwindled, or grown greater as men and women change in actual life.

The world of this novel is divided into Andersonville and non-Andersonville. The drama and tragedy are not confined to the fetid prison world, steaming and fuming within those few acres in the Georgia clearing. The outside world centers around the planter, Ira Claffey, the husbandman and universal watcher, the *choros* of the book, his wife Veronica, and their lovely and delightful daughter, Lucy. Before the first axes fell the first trees for Andersonville's fifteen-foot stockade, the Claffeys have lost two sons in the war, one at Crampton's Gap and the other at Gettysburg; and on the very day that Claffey meets the prison survey party, he learns of the death of the third. Lucy's fiance, Rob Lamar, also has fallen in battle. As the family struggles with these losses, compounded by the mental collapse and death of Veronica, Ira and Lucy are as receptive to the seeds of hatred for the enemy as any of the rich acres he has tended so lovingly in the past have been to corn and cotton. But understanding and compassion win out, and their flowering in father and daughter is one of the most moving elements in this monumental novel.

Mr. Kantor's admirable avoidance of stereotype is noticeable throughout, but nowhere is it so rewarding as in his characterization of Harrell Elkins, with whom Lucy is to fall in love and marry. Invalided home from the war to resume his medical studies, he becomes an interne in Andersonville Hospital. Here is no conventional hero. He is "a rangy man, with rounded shoulders detracting from his natural height; and his ears stuck out, roundly, quizzically. . . . In no degree was Mr. Elkins handsome. In every degree he was a man peculiar to himself." The love story of this man, made miserable and troubled to the point of inattention to Lucy by his inability to assuage the anguish of the prisoners dying in his hospital, strongly balances the parallel drama of the prison.

The gates of Andersonville took in some forty thousand prisoners in little more than a year, and some thirteen thousand died within the stockade. The principal killers were malnutrition and its shadow, scurvy and the *colon bacilli* that swarmed in the maggoty fecal swamps and brackish pools from which the prisoners drank. One prisoner, Willie Mann of Missouri, having learned from his physician father of the death-potential of polluted wells, enters Andersonville vowing that he will live to return to his sweetheart, that charming Katrine Fiedenbruster of whom we are allowed to see all too little. Willie swears that he will live for Katty on the waters of the air rather than drink the animal matter of the prison water, and his triumph is a stirring story of incredible determination.

But all of the prisoners are not brave. Some are weak and cowardly; others are monstrosly depraved, such as the Andersonville Raiders, gangs of criminals who prey upon the rest with a rapacious cruelty exceeding that of which some of their jailers are eventually accused. But in portraying Willie Collins, the most monstrous of them all, the novelist scrupulously traces the inevitability of Collins' actions from his youthful environment in the cesspools of New York's Ninth Ward. As a result, the reader approves but does not exult or rejoice at the order of a kangaroo court to hang Collins and five other raiders for their crimes.

Of a vast number of sharply etched prisoners, only two more may be mentioned here. One is Eben Dolliver of the 5th Iowa Regiment, a gentle boy who loves birds but who is driven to ferocity by the ordeal of Andersonville. Another, and most memorable of all, is Sergeant Nathan Dreyfoos of the 85th New York — a learned, travelled, gracious, courageous, and urbane person, who sets his imagination and his murmurous crowding memories against the prison. Like an old-time prophet he laments the death of the young and the fair of both sides, mourning that "the soul which might have written the compelling opera went winging at Manassas Junction . . . the hand which might have sculptured a shape fairer than *Moses* was shot off on the Chickahominy . . . the hearts which might have beat with the rhythm of philanthropist and priest and educator. . . . O wicked Gettysburg, O doleful Vicksburg, O thrice lewd Fredericksburg!"

A man of lesser imagination than Mr. Kantor might have been satisfied to introduce his characters at their logical point of entry into the story — the prisoners at the gates, the bedevilled Wirz and Winder when they arrive under orders. Instead, the author overleaps time and space to view these men at the time and place and circumstance which will let us know them well and truly. None who have held Wirz and Winder in hatred and contempt will again condemn them for callous treatment or needless cruelty, for hatred cannot very well exist where compassion and understanding are. The author's method of bringing these people to us over trails and roads remote, through battle and skirmish and circuitous paths to be sprinkled down into this place of pain and degradation, is of devastating effect. For the reader, the impact of the repeated capture of those whose hopes and dreams he has shared is painful in the extreme. By superlative artistry, however, the novelist avoids the moment of surfeit and shifts to the companion story outside the stockade until the reader is again surcharged with the pressure of new pain and different problems. Then we are again released and again held captive, as the story moves fluidly to another set of imprisoned lives. For Mr. Kantor sees them all in prison, walled within or walled without. Horrified as the reader will be by the degradation suffered by the men of Andersonville, he will also be emotionally exalted, for as the panorama unrolls to its full and staggering proportions, death loses much of its terror for us, as it did for the prisoners, and we see that the stinking crawling horror of the prison may be overshadowed and dwarfed by courage and compassion and the beauty of the far shining uplands of the human spirit.

Mr. Kantor has written this novel with the impersonality of a surgeon excising a noisome growth in the body of a patient for whom he has affection. After long and thorough research, he has painted Andersonville as he believes

it to have been. He has let us see the clumsiness of the Richmond bureaus and has made plain that, whatever the maltreatment, it was an expression neither of Confederate policy nor of the popular mind. Much of it was due to a violation of the helpless by isolated and vindictive men, themselves tortured to extremity, who were able to wreak their vileness without sanction; and much of it was due to the imminent collapse of the starving Confederate edifice; all of it ran contrary to the wishes of most of the citizenry who knew of it.

For almost a century the record of Civil War prisons, both north and south, has lain upon our national conscience as a pall. Andersonville has its corollaries in Point Lookout and Johnson's Island, and the facts and figures of necrology on both sides have been repeatedly juggled, along with bitter recriminations. On the eve of the Civil War centennial, it would be well to dismantle our defense mechanisms and look upon the abhorrent of the period with a common abhorrence — just as we jointly hail the good, the heroic, and the noble under both flags. This is but one of many hopes which Mr. Kantor's novel inspires. It is a work of real magnificence, and we are grateful to him not only for a first-rate achievement in fiction but also for a cleansing of pride and prejudice long overdue.

CARL HAVERLIN

Bronxville, New York

*Decisive Battles of the Civil War.* By Joseph B. Mitchell. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1955. Pp. 226. \$4.00.)

"WHAT WE NEED," A DIXIE GENTLEMAN remarked recently, "is a good impartial history of the Civil War from the Southern point of view." Well, he now has it in this singularly mis-titled book — mis-titled because there is nowhere in it any indication of why Colonel Mitchell considered the fourteen battles to which he gives extended treatment decisive or what they decided. Indeed, the reverse: late in the volume he remarks that the Battle of Nashville was decisive, but it gets less than a paragraph.

There may also be some criticism of a process of selection which omits Fort Donelson from the list of decisive battles in favor of Shiloh, and which overlooks Cedar Creek to concentrate on the siege of Petersburg. But this is again a criticism of the title of a book which is essentially not a book of battles at all, but rather a brief history of the war, with longer chapters and detailed maps covering certain actions. The total space given to the "decisive battles" is a good deal less than that given the intercalary material between them.

More serious to the total picture is the distortion introduced by the extremely Confederate point of view. The text is full of such statements as "the Army of Tennessee won a battle at Murfreesboro," which was certainly not the opinion of the Confederate soldiers who retreated from that place on the afternoon of January 2, 1863. Lee's analysis of his opponents is illustrated by the statement that he "could take far greater risks against McClellan, Halleck, or Pope than he would against Grant," which perhaps pardonably overlooks the fact that Lee never opposed Halleck in the field, but less excusably neglects the fact that Grant gripped Lee so tightly there was no opportunity for those risky flank marches.



The concomitants of the legends of Southern patriotism are all present. The Union always has enormously superior forces; the relative populations are set down as twenty-two million against five million whites and three million blacks, which pushes Kentucky and Missouri completely into the Union camp. The pen portraits of generals are always those of Southern generals, and for some of them there is extravagant admiration — especially N. B. Forrest, to whom is given the major part of the credit for breaking up Grant's first advance into Mississippi, which most of us thought belonged to Van Dorn.

It is also a case of once over lightly. There is practically nothing analytical in the book. The work of the Union artillery, one of the decisive features of the war according to General Dick Ewell, is mentioned only in a single sentence in connection with Gettysburg. The gunboats that played so prominent a part on the western rivers escape with a couple of lines.

These are heavy deductions. What remains? A consistent, clear, and brief account of the war which cleaves to the main line of military operations without concerning itself with other issues; a series of excellent maps, both strategic and tactical; a concise account which should lead its readers to investigate more specialized and less one-sided works.

FLETCHER PRATT

New York, New York

*Three Lincoln Masterpieces.* By Benjamin Barondess. (Charleston, West Virginia: Education Foundation of West Virginia, Inc. 1954. Pp. ix, 156. \$3.00.)

THIS BEAUTIFULLY PRINTED LITTLE BOOK is valuable chiefly for bringing together the texts and background of the "Cooper Union," the "Gettysburg," and the "Second Inaugural" addresses, but its usefulness for the historian or rhetorician ends there. Although the jacket refers to "the years-long search for the little known details omitted or overlooked by historians and biographers," the footnotes meticulously refer to the familiar sources. The important texts of the three speeches are established only as far back as *The Collected Works*. Nor is there a really significant and original contribution in what the jacket calls "a vivid portrayal of the thought behind these world famous orations." This consists of the simple formula of restating the well-known facts and of re quoting the pertinent quotations concerning (1) the preparations for the speech and (3) its reception. The second section, between these two, is called "the speech itself," and here we would expect the most.

And yet, with regard to the Cooper Union address, under "Analytical Summary of the Speech," we read that the speech "naturally falls into three general parts." But rhetoric is not "natural;" it is, in the best sense of the word, "artificial." And there are not, as the text makes clear, three parts; there are (1) the definition of the issue in ironical historical terms, and (2) the call to both sections of the nation to unite on that single issue. In an analysis, especially where we are given the text as an appendix, there is no need to make long quotations. Anyone can see "what" is in the speech; we want to know "why" it is there at that particular rhetorical juncture. Neither does paraphrase, which merely substitutes Barondess' words for Lincoln's, satisfy us. "At this point,"

Barondess writes, "Lincoln voiced his own political philosophy: A policy of pinning down slavery to the States where it already existed . . ." But why "at this point"? And how far was this merely his own philosophy? Such an assertion robs the speech of its rhetorical effectiveness: this was the philosophy of the founding fathers many years ago, and of all "right-thinking men" today whether they live in the north or the south. The whole Cooper Union speech hammers on this point, and hence the "first part" or "history" must be joined by the analyst to everything else. Thus the beautiful irony of opening with a quotation from his adversary Douglas, and the artful reiteration of the word "understanding." Douglas had said that the writers of the Constitution "understood" the issue better than we do today. Lincoln does not deny this: he proves that they *understood* it in the same way that "we" *understand* it, but that adherents of the Dred Scott decision *misunderstand* that *understanding*. A political union — in his plea first to the Southerners and then to the Republican party — that does not rest on this moral union is bound for war.

But no such analysis of the speech's rhetoric can possibly be presented from an outline in three Roman numerals (I, History; II, Plea to Southerners; III, Plea to the Republican Party), eked out by quotation and paraphrase. Rather, we need to know the rhetorical purpose of each one of Lincoln's quotations — from Jefferson (p. 137), for example, and from his own speeches. Rhetorical style is the perfect exploitation of language for the thought and the occasion. Without a competent and rigorous analysis of these aspects, we may expect such jejune statements as that (p. 46) on the Gettysburg address ("Analysis reveals that of its 266 words there are 190 of one syllable"), where the word "analysis" is a misnomer for arithmetic.

FRANK L. HUNTLEY

Ann Arbor, Michigan

*The Day Lincoln Was Shot.* By Jim Bishop. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1955. Pp. 304. \$3.75.)

EVEN THOUGH JIM BISHOP FILLS IN GAPS and assumes conversations that might have taken place, his book is one of the most dramatic accounts ever written of Lincoln's assassination. The account starts at seven o'clock in the morning of April 14, 1865, when the polished rosewood door of Lincoln's bedroom opened and the President of the United States came out to say "Good morning" to the night man. It follows, hour by hour, Lincoln's footsteps through the day toward the fatal rendezvous at Ford's Theatre. Although nothing on the surface of the preceding hours distinguishes April 14th from any other presidential working day, Mr. Bishop captures the shadow of impending tragedy in a fine skein of drama.

On that portentous morning, in a city which the author describes as "a place of cobblestones and iron wheels, of hoop skirts and gas light, of bayonets and bonnets, of livery stables and taverns," Lincoln went to his office to study the latest official documents. A few streets to the north, Edwin Stanton was having his breakfast. Across the street from the White House, William Seward, recently injured in a carriage accident, was given a shave in bed. At the Metropolitan Hotel, Michael O'Laughlin, caught in the weird net John Wilkes Booth

had cast, arose after a night of celebration with some Baltimore friends. So, with each of the principals in the drama of that day, Mr. Bishop weaves a pattern of their individual courses.

At eight o'clock Lincoln had breakfast with his family. His son, Robert, recently returned from duty at Grant's headquarters, showed his father a picture of General Lee. Putting on his glasses, the President studied the photograph and said, "It is a good face."

At nine o'clock Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House, accompanied by Congressman Cornelius Cole, came to see the President. While Lincoln talked to them, John Wilkes Booth stepped out of a barber shop, and Mary Surratt, in her home on H Street, was reading a letter from her son.

Other morning visitors were received in the White House, and at eleven o'clock a cabinet meeting was held. Meanwhile, at Ford's Theatre, actors were rehearsing *Our American Cousin*, with John Wilkes Booth among the spectators. At high noon James Ford, carting a load of flags to the theatre, saw Booth and stopped to chat with him. Washington was quiet, and the two men talked of the coming evening performance.

One by one, the hours moved closer to the evening of violence and the seemingly endless night of waiting that followed. At eight o'clock Lincoln, about to depart for the theatre and still busy with visitors, scribbled a note on a card:

Allow Mr Ashmun & friend  
to come in at 9 A.M. to morrow.

A. Lincoln  
April 14, 1865

At ten o'clock that night, a dying Lincoln was carried across the street to the Petersen house. While Dr. Charles Leale held the President's hand and waited through eight hours for the end, Edwin Stanton took charge of the government, dispatching messages and giving orders; and when death finally stopped Lincoln's labored breathing, it was Stanton who said, "Now he belongs to the ages."

Despite certain defects, including an overly harsh portrait of Mrs. Lincoln and the occasionally irritating technique of "this-is-how-it-might-have-happened," Mr. Bishop's book has a great emotional impact. He transports the reader to that one day in 1865 and in the minutiae of trivial occurrences develops the theme of a minor comedy as a prelude for a major tragedy. The technique is highly effective. Although most Americans are well aware of the final curtain scene, the hour-by-hour approach to the fatal moment carries a heavy sense of foreboding and affords a larger perspective of the terrible drama.

ARNOLD GATES

Garden City, New York

*Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray.* By T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 345. \$4.75.)

PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD had a paradoxical personality and a dramatic life from the time he entered West Point at the age of sixteen until

he died in his beloved New Orleans in 1893, and T. Harry Williams has faithfully recreated that personality and life in these pages. Not since Beauregard and Alfred Roman collaborated and finally published *The Military Operations of General Beauregard* in 1884 has a work of any magnitude been done on this colorful person, one of the eight full generals of the Confederacy. As Mr. Williams states in his preface, "He deserved it."

It is also stated in the preface that Civil War fans are bound to raise the following two questions. Was Beauregard a great general? Was he even a good one? The author's answer to the first query is "No, with a caveat for Beauregard that there are few great generals." Then he immediately answers the second, "Yes, with several caveats against him." These judgments form the framework of the entire book, which falls into three sections: first, Beauregard's early life and service in the Mexican campaign; second, the Civil War years; and lastly, his life in the Reconstructed South. More than half of the book is devoted to the Civil War, but the author's careful distribution of emphasis, smooth transitions, and painstaking factual research achieve for the reader a continuity and completeness in the life of Beauregard. The general becomes a man, not just a Civil War figure.

He was raised in that section of Louisiana just below New Orleans known as St. Bernard parish, where Contreras, the plantation of the Toutant-Beauregards, formed his boyhood background. Here the cultural influences for which he later fought made their imprint on the young Creole. The French heritage, especially strong, included his attendance at a French school in New York City taught by two former officers in Napoleon's army, and made it natural that Pierre would adopt the little Corsican as his hero. His studies of Jena and Austerlitz, among other campaigns, shaped the thinking of the future general and had no little bearing on the course of American history.

With a fine mastery of words, Mr. Williams has shown the growth of the Napoleonic influence in Beauregard, from his first days at West Point and service under Winfield Scott in Mexico to his best battle at Petersburg. His flair for the militaristic and his theatrical nature are handled tactfully by the author. Much is revealed, for instance, by the replies of the fellow officers, Lee and Beauregard, when they were challenged one night during the Mexican War. To the sentry's query, "Who goes there?" Lee answered, "Friends." Beauregard answered, "Officers." It was during the Mexican campaign, incidentally, that Beauregard's resentment or jealousy of Lee began — an attitude revealing the frustration of the proud and sensitive Creole. His honor was very touchy, and he could not brook rivalry in arms.

For Beauregard, the return from Mexico led to the directorship of the New Orleans Customhouse, then to the superintendency of West Point, from which position he resigned to return to Louisiana upon the secession of that state. With the capture of Fort Sumter, Beauregard became a Confederate hero overnight. Jefferson Davis praised him, but such praise would be short-lived, and a bitter, lasting feud evolved between the two men.

The accounts of the battles in which Beauregard participated are presented clearly, conclusively, and above all interestingly. In reading these chapters on Manassas, Charleston, Shiloh, and Petersburg, one feels himself being drawn into the battles on the Confederate side. The Southern tactics and strategy

become alive to the reader, and it is easy to imagine oneself with Joseph Johnston and Beauregard at Manassas, or with Albert Sidney Johnston and Beauregard on the Tennessee and in Corinth. Shiloh and Beauregard's assumption of command upon the death of Albert Sidney Johnston unfold in a wonderful narrative. The reader returns to Charleston with Beauregard and there shares the anxious days awaiting the Federal naval attack, which finally arrives in the form of the iron-clad monitors. Later, Virginia is again the scene, and Drewry's Bluff, City Point, and Petersburg become common terms in the reader's vocabulary. Beauregard's best battle of the war unfolds as Mr. Williams recreates the defense of Petersburg, which foils Grant's plan to force an immediate decision. Finally, the reader travels through North Carolina and watches the rapid advance of Sherman's army. Then, in Greensboro, North Carolina, one becomes a silent listener as Davis and his cabinet meet with Beauregard and Johnston, and the decision is reached that the war can be pursued no further. It is finished.

As outlined above, Beauregard figured in many of the South's great engagements, and because of this fact the author has had a wealth of material to work with. The romance of the war, its pathos, its moments of joy are masterfully worked into the volume, with P. G. T. Beauregard standing in the center. No doubt the colorful character of the general has helped this task. His fine engineering sense and his sound strategic ability are fully accounted for, as well as his various tactical errors and his Napoleonic mania for the concentration of large troop numbers.

Nor is the post-war period neglected. Beauregard's adjustment to Reconstruction is as colorful as his war record. He took an active part in the revitalizing of the New South, with apparently few regrets — on the surface, at least — for the lost cause.

This is a volume that does entire justice to the Southern Napoleon. It is not a work of bias as was his own and Roman's work. Mr. Williams' text, footnotes, and bibliography prove the wide scope and accuracy of his research, and the book admirably fills a gap in the scholarly, well-balanced presentation of the Southern Civil War story. The author must be complimented for bringing to life once more the Creole general from New Orleans. He has been gone historically too long.

WELDON E. PETZ

Birmingham, Michigan

*Frémont: Pathmarker of the West.* By Allan Nevins. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1955. Pp. xiv, 689. \$7.50.)

FROM THE UNION OF A SOUTHERN LADY of quality and beauty and her French émigré paramour was born John Charles Frémont in 1813; seventy-seven years later he died, financially broken, "almost alone in a cheerless Manhattan boarding-house." Between the unconventional beginning of his life and its unfortunate ending, Frémont married Senator Benton's daughter, gained a great reputation as a geographer and western explorer, was given credit for securing California to the United States, was court martialed, won a fortune



in California gold, sat briefly in the Senate of the United States, received 114 electoral votes as the first presidential candidate of the Republican Party, served as a Civil War general, and dabbled disastrously in railroad promotion. Almost every step in this progression was marked by controversy — by adulation on the one hand and by bitter criticism on the other. Historians understandably have had some difficulty in assigning Frémont to his proper niche in American history.

In 1928 Allan Nevins published *Frémont: The West's Greatest Adventurer* which he described as "an attempt at an honest and impartial biography of a man who has been the subject of excessive laudation and excessive detraction." Based in part on hitherto-unused papers of the Frémont family, the book was commended by some reviewers but was criticized sharply by others — in one instance it was described as "the last word of counsel for the defense." Shortly thereafter, Cardinal Goodwin concluded in *John Charles Frémont: An Explanation of his Career* that the gentleman was a mere drifter who easily adjusted his morals to any environment.

In 1939 Professor Nevins returned to the trail with *Frémont: Pathmarker of the West*, in which he presented "essentially a new life" of the explorer, "fresher . . . fuller . . . more objective." Although following the 1928 narrative closely in many passages, the 1939 edition exhibited a milder vocabulary, a deeper or different treatment of some subjects, and a more closely reasoned analysis of the controversial aspects of Frémont's career. The explorer was not always the loser by these changes. Where, in the first edition, he "was not a 'Pathfinder'; he was a Pathmarker," by 1939 he had become "only rarely a 'Pathfinder'; for the most part he was a Pathmarker." When discussing the possibility that the Confederates in Missouri might have faced about and given battle to the army under Frémont had he not been relieved, Nevins originally wrote, "There is indeed fairly complete evidence to sustain this view of their intentions," qualifying this a few pages later, "All this to meet an enemy who was not before them at all, and who could not be brought to fight except after days of hard marching — perhaps not even then!" In 1939 Mr. Nevins argued, "We now know that this was actually their intention," and for the second statement he substituted, "A battle might soon have taken place, for McCulloch really did await the attack."

The volume under review is a reprint of the 1939 edition with a few changes in the text and an additional chapter, "Some New Light on Frémont," in which Mr. Nevins discusses pertinent material which he has discovered since 1939. This book, therefore, represents the author's considered evaluation of Frémont some thirty years after he published his first book on the explorer. Here, he interprets Frémont as well fitted for his role, demonstrating the requisite skills of the scientist, revealing qualities of precision, industry, and resourcefulness, and showing enthusiasm along with an organizing ability, "iron discipline," and a "fierce contempt for cowardice or shirking." Frémont's two salient faults were "impulsiveness" and a "weak judgment of men and of critical situations." According to Mr. Nevins, Frémont's success in the first three expeditions was well deserved because it was based on years of severe practical training under the ablest masters. But thereafter he sought merely to



reap where others had sown and failed as a result. For these failures, Mr. Nevins argues, both Frémont's associates and the American people as a whole must share much of the responsibility.

The new chapter in the 1955 edition includes 38 pages bearing on many phases of Frémont's life. For the most part, this new material simply corroborates or amplifies interpretations to be found in the preceding narrative. Almost half the chapter is devoted to a reconsideration of Frémont's military operations in Missouri, and Mr. Nevins argues that this phase of the general's career "offers a more complicated, difficult, and creditable story than most writers have supposed."

There is no question but that the 1955 version of *Frémont* is a good biography. Mr. Nevins' skill as a biographer is generally acknowledged, and this book ranks among his better efforts. Well written, it follows a fascinating figure in a period of great national stress. We may still ask, however, if the author exaggerates Frémont's importance in American history or excuses him excessively for his mistakes and failures. The reviewer believes that he is guilty in the second degree. At times the reader is swept along in the tide of facts to the point where Frémont's ultimate responsibility is forgotten. Although Mr. Nevins presented the essentials of his case in 1939, historians of the Civil War have not greatly modified the old picture of a western department in which the headquarters was administered with excessive pomp and red tape, in which war contracts were wastefully allocated and where the commanding general handled his troops ineptly while embarrassing the president by his decision to confiscate the property and to free the slaves of Confederate supporters in Missouri. "Inefficiency and failure marked every phase of Frémont's conduct of affairs in Missouri," wrote T. Harry Williams in *Lincoln and His Generals* (1952). Perhaps some eager military historian will soon devote his efforts to resolving this conflict in interpretation.

ALLAN BOGUE

Iowa City, Iowa

*U. S. Grant and the American Military Tradition.* By Bruce Catton. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. 201. \$3.00.)

ONE OF THE FASCINATIONS OF HISTORICAL STUDY is watching the evolution of the concepts of great personalities, from the first flush of contemporary appraisal through the increasingly detached scrutinies of later years. Presently in scholarly evolution is the character of Ulysses S. Grant.

The popular, schoolbook conception of Grant has been that of a phlegmatic plodder who drank more than was good for him, a man of courage and tenacity but whose military success was due as much to luck as to talent and who thoroughly demonstrated his limitations when he was elected President in 1868. Some of these attributes remain in the revised picture, but a man of more heroic dimensions has emerged. The new Grant does not look like a hero, a leader, or even a soldier. He slouches, dresses carelessly, and does not talk very much — but it is observed that his words are to the point. He does not strut or pose, but he gets things done. He does not howl that he is being short-

changed from Washington, but he does the best he can with what he has. In short, he emerges as a solid personality and one which a man — or a nation — can tie to.

Such recent works as Harry Williams' *Lincoln and His Generals*, Kenneth Williams' still uncompleted *Lincoln Finds a General*, Bruce Catton's *A Stillness at Appomattox* have contributed greatly to the new concept. Lloyd Lewis was well on the way to this revised evaluation with *Captain Sam Grant*, the first portion of an extensive biographical project which was cut short by that author's untimely death. More recently, Earl Schenck Miers' *The Web of Victory: Grant at Vicksburg* has achieved much in illuminating Grant's generalship. And finally, no study has been more influential than the book under present consideration, again by Bruce Catton.

This work is not a biography. It is a character study, a reflective scrutiny of a man and his talents, placed accurately within the framework of his times. Other reviewers have remarked on Mr. Catton's uncanny gift for the right word and the right anecdote to illuminate and explain. The author notes, for example, "an odd quirk" of Grant's boyhood. "When the boy made a trip and accidentally drove past his destination, he would make any kind of roundabout circuit to get back to it, even at the cost of considerable trouble. He had some deep-seated reluctance to retrace his steps." In these few words, you can see the genesis of the general who, when stopped in the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania, slipped sideways and attacked again, but did not retreat.

There was no early hint that stardust would shimmer around Hiram Ulysses Grant. He was "simply one of the throng" at West Point. His record in the Mexican War was "just average." The following years were blighted by disastrous financial ventures and a period of subservience to John Barleycorn, although Mr. Catton finds this chapter less dark than has been painted. Yet, somehow, from that uninspiring background came a man who was ready and able in every respect for the responsibilities which the Civil War thrust upon him. Note that "somehow." It never was quite clear how Grant did things. Mr. Catton points up this oddity in reporting Grant's methods in subduing a regiment of riotous volunteers in the early days of war. He "just moved in and took charge and made them like it. Apparently there was something about the man . . ."

There was something about the man at Shiloh, too. When General Buell reached the field late on the first day, he noted to Grant that there were not enough boats to get 10,000 men across the Tennessee River in case of further disaster and retreat. What would Grant do? His reply was grim and uncompromising. If he finally did retreat, boats for 10,000 men were all he would need.

It was the victory at Vicksburg which caused Grant's star to rise in an irrevocable ascendancy. Then he went to Virginia and the war took on new purpose. The North all at once had unity of command and unity of strategy, "a grim business of applying all the pressure possible and waiting for something to break." Then, after Appomattox, came the White House and deterioration in Grant's stature. Perhaps this was inevitable. Mr. Catton says, simply, that "any road he took would lead downward" from the crest of his Civil War achievement. Still, Grant himself did not change; he retained his integrity and simple dignity and the unstrained qualities of mercy he had dis-

played at Appomattox. But other qualities were needed. Although he had little taste for a military career, Grant was a trained soldier, and his training had taught him that Congress was the supreme authority of the United States. Therein, as Mr. Catton sees it, is the great risk of putting "a professional soldier in the White House, not because the man will try to use too much authority but because he will try to use too little." The circumstances of Reconstruction called for a strong executive, but Grant could not assert himself in violation of his lifelong training.

After two terms as president, there was little of moment in the later years, except a brief flash of glory at the very end when the dying man — aided loyally and fervently, even desperately, by Mark Twain — grappled with death and won an agonizing race to finish his memoirs while he still breathed.

U. S. Grant and the American Military Tradition furnishes an auspicious start for the Library of American Biography, under the general editorship of Oscar Handlin. More than that, it demonstrates that the task of completing Lloyd Lewis' biography, the first installment of which has been noted above, could have been entrusted to no better qualified hands than Bruce Catton's.

ROBERT D. PRICE

New York, New York

*The Land They Fought For: The Story of the South as the Southern Confederacy, 1832-1865.* By Clifford Dowdey. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Incorporated. 1955. Pp. viii, 438. \$6.00. A volume of the *Mainstream of America Series*, edited by Lewis Gannett.)

IN THIS STUDY THE AUTHOR of two distinguished novels on the Confederacy, *Bugles Blow No More* (1937) and *Where My Love Sleeps* (1945), turns his attention to an historical treatment of the same subject. This is not his first excursion into Confederate history, for the present volume is prefaced by his well-received *Experiment in Rebellion* (1947), a personality-centered examination of the men who led the Southern states in the 1861-1865 conflict. Now Mr. Dowdey makes another notable contribution with a general history of the beleaguered South, and it may be that he is the only author of recent years — perhaps of any time — to treat the Confederacy with credit from both the historical and fictional approach. When another well-known Civil War novelist, the late James H. Street, turned to the history of the fraternal struggle, the result (*The Civil War*, 1953) was unworthy and disgusting.

In *The Land They Fought For*, Mr. Dowdey has added to an enlarged understanding of the Confederacy's leaders and actions not unlike Carl Sandburg's contribution to the continuing Lincoln and Civil War theme. Here is a brilliant interpretation overflowing with imagination and packed with the data of history. The Confederacy is born again as the reader experiences the emotions and understands the minds of its people. The psychology of men and events is related in an absorbing story, compactly written and cogent with illuminating insights.

Although the reader never loses sight of the rapidly shifting panorama, detail is always a high point, as in Mr. Dowdey's vivid account of Nat Turner's

slave insurrection early in the volume. The pro-Southern point of view, another feature, prevails throughout and is best illustrated by his ultra-severe judgment of General William T. Sherman: "He was the executioner of the sentence which the sitters-in-judgment wished to have carried out against the Southern people. To the South he remains a symbol of the wanton and ruthless brutality of a might which denied all human right to its victims."

In the author's view, Robert E. Lee is always the hero and Jefferson Davis is always the villain. Lee "was instinctively kind, of amiable disposition; and training, association, and experience developed his native traits into a gracious consideration in dealing with others. With all his awesome self-discipline, his unbending devotion to duty, Lee was a sweet-natured person of true Christian humility. It is probable that these qualities, which caused him to suffer Davis' unconscious rudeness for the sake of their country, caused the self-aware gentlemen to feel superior and to underestimate the selfless patriot." The author is certain that Davis learned little about his own limitations during the ordeal of war, and cites *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* in evidence. By contrast, former Confederates "partook of the heroism of Lee" while the youth of the New South were "molded on the symbol and the model of the Confederate ex-commander."

This account uniquely inaugurates the Confederacy with the nullification controversy of 1832 and is the first modern history of the war-time South to so contend. The first of four sections, a unit of 71 pages, is devoted to the antesecession period. In support of this argument, there is little doubt that the origins of the secession movement extend back to 1832, if not before. The evidence of history indicates that the embryo of the Confederacy was planted along with the establishment of the Southern colonies.

Some errors of fact do not seriously detract from the volume's contribution, but the lack of notes does depreciate its usefulness. Appended is a bibliography which points to wide reading; it is noted, however, that manuscript collections were not drawn upon and that few periodicals and newspapers were used, thereby seriously limiting the research. The page format and index are all that is to be desired.

LEROY H. FISCHER

Stillwater, Oklahoma

*Confederate Agent: A Discovery in History.* By James D. Horan. (New York: Crown Publishers, Incorporated. 1954. Pp. 326. \$5.00.)

THE WINTER OF 1863-64 WAS ONE OF DESPAIR and gloom for the Confederacy, and out of their despondency Confederate leaders hatched an audacious plot to check the Union's progress by means of a "fifth column" campaign without precedent. Mr. Horan's book concerns this desperate adventure. It is a well-documented story-history centering around Captain Thomas H. Hines, described as the mastermind of the scheme and "the most dangerous man in the Confederacy."

To set the stage for an understanding of this undertaking, it is important to recall the events of the battlefield leading up to the point of Hines' commission. General Braxton Bragg's army had crumbled at Missionary Ridge, putting the

whole of East Tennessee under Federal control for the first time since the beginning of the war. This event led to the promotion of U. S. Grant to the rank of lieutenant general and to the over-all command of the Union armies; it also paved the way for Sherman's march from Tennessee to Atlanta. Thus it was entirely natural, as H. S. Commager has noted in *The Blue and the Gray*, that "the Confederacy, which was on the defensive militarily, should have sought to attack the Union from behind the lines. For in the end the only hope of Confederate victory . . . lay in encouraging discontent and disunity to the point where the Northern people would weary of the war."

For this purpose Captain Hines was summoned from his engagement party in Kentucky to confer with the Confederate leaders in Richmond. Why had an obscure junior officer, not yet twenty-four years old, been chosen for such an assignment? It is not hard to understand when you examine Hines' credentials.

Under John Hunt Morgan, Hines had commanded a troop of hell-for-leather cavalry, and when not thus engaged he was often behind Union lines as Morgan's emissary to Copperhead leaders in Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio. Along with Morgan and most of the raiders, he had been taken prisoner, but it was Hines who engineered the escape from the Ohio Penitentiary and had allowed himself to be recaptured so that his chief might make good his getaway. Later, by outwitting a sentry, Hines made good his own escape.

Following his conferences with Jefferson Davis, Judah Benjamin, and James Seddon, the young Kentuckian was dispatched to Canada to help organize the so-called "Northwest Conspiracy." This grandiose plan combined several interdependent features: the release and reorganization of Confederate prisoners held in Northern prison camps, the development of the military potential of bands of armed Copperheads, and the utilization of terror and what would later be called "psychological warfare" to bring key Northern cities (New York and Chicago, for example) into the Southern camp.

Hines' mission to Canada comprises the greater part of the volume, and the reader shares the young firebrand's impatience with the craven Copperheads who fear to use their provided weapons, and his disgust with greedy Confederates who were concerned chiefly with lining their own pockets. Casual readers of American history will find here a new insight into the far-reaching ambitions of the Copperhead societies. It is apparent that they were not merely Southern sympathizers — they were dedicated to the overthrow of Lincoln's administration and would stop at nothing, not even treason.

The story of Hines' mission is one of tragedy and frustration. His assigned goal was impossible of fulfillment, but he himself, intrepid, imaginative, with a dozen aliases, managed to stay a step ahead of his pursuers. Indeed, his many narrow escapes strain the credulity of the reader; still, this is his story as Mr. Horan has faithfully reconstructed it from available sources. If the author has overemphasized Hines' importance, his enthusiasm is excusable. Although the story is scarcely "a discovery in history," it does tie together the loose ends of one of the strangest and most fascinating episodes of the Civil War era.

BRUCE JACOBS

Park Ridge, New Jersey



*The Fremantle Diary: Being the Journal of Lieutenant Colonel James Arthur Lyon Fremantle, Coldstream Guards, on his Three Months in the Southern States.* Edited by Walter Lord. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. xv, 304. \$4.00.)

IT ALMOST ALWAYS HOLDS that good "on the spot" reporting has a certain quality of candidness that other descriptions lack, no matter how well done. The diarist not only notes the little — sometimes trivial — occurrences and, depending on his skill and accuracy, jots them down as exactly as possible as he observed them, but he is part of the scene itself and brings to the reader the feeling of "belonging," of taking part in the experiences of the writer. In this diary kept by a young British officer who toured the South for three months in 1863, one senses the stark reality of life in the war zones in much the same way as one does when he examines Brady's pictures of the Civil War.

On military leave, Lieutenant Colonel James A. L. Fremantle toured the embattled Confederacy from Texas to Gettysburg and from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. During the months of spring and early summer, he was given opportunities to study conditions on the front and behind the lines such as were afforded few men of his period. He received a warm welcome by Confederate officers because of his military rank and by civil leaders because he represented a country which it was hoped would soon recognize the Confederate States as a nation.

The personalities and thinking of some of the highest leaders of the South, both military and civilian, emerge from the pages of the diary with a clarity that impresses the reader. Obviously everything he saw or heard could not be written, but enough was set down to indicate that the young colonel discussed strategic moves and traded military wisdom with ranking general staff officers. He was given choice vantage points from which he observed actual combat maneuvers and witnessed at close range what no one at that time could know would be the turning point of the war, the battle of Gettysburg. The cores of several points of weakness and strength are disclosed, and it is a tribute to his powers of observation that he saw some of these basic elements for what they were despite the radical differences in the conduct of the war in America from his own European experience. He was particularly impressed with how the war was being fought as successfully as it was under the obstacles of procurement of both men and supplies.

Important also are the colonel's lucid descriptions of the civilian life of the South hedged in by the war zones. Here his candid observation of little things provides much material for anyone engaged in a social analysis of the South at this time. All the characteristics of a beleaguered people pass in review. Avarice, hate, sympathy, hospitality, hope, suspicion, perseverance, all find their places in his description of individuals and their environments. Other visitors to the American scene have left valuable, indelible impressions of the time and setting of their travels, and the pen of this young British officer does the same. What might have passed unnoticed to American eyes stood out vividly to him as he tried to explain the contemporary American scene to his own countrymen. It is a tribute to the warmth and sincerity of the document



that ninety years after the end of a war that has been discussed and analyzed from almost every conceivable angle it is refreshing to take up this diary and to witness with the author the daily experiences of a war-torn people.

This book is a re-issue of the original as it was published in England by Colonel Fremantle in 1863 after his return from his American visit. Mr. Walter Lord has done a good job as editor, and his notes are well worth reading on their own account both for their lucidity and their content material. For all students of the Civil War, this volume is a "must" for the bookshelf and a happy obligation for those who have not yet read it. Even though Colonel Fremantle knew what tremendous blows Vicksburg and Gettysburg were for the Confederate cause, he predicted a Southern victory; his judgment was proved wrong, yet the reasons for his conclusion stemmed from the observations which he recorded so well. This fact is in itself important — that even in the dark days of mid-1863 a visitor to the South could be so impressed by the strength and vitality of the people he met, both the great and the obscure, that he could not entertain the idea that such a people could see their cause defeated in the long run.

MYRON H. LUKE

Hempstead, New York

*The Gray Captain.* By Jere Wheelwright. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1954. Pp. 278. \$3.50.)

TO ANYONE WHO HAS READ EXTENSIVELY in the recorded history of the Civil War, few novels with it as a background measure up to the drama and vigor which the journals and records of that struggle impart. To anyone who has experienced combat in the past dozen years or so, fictional versions of men under ordeal are usually disappointing. A rare exception is *The Gray Captain* by Jere Wheelwright. The author, who saw service in the second World War and who remembers stories of the Confederate Army from early childhood, has written one of the finest novels of the Civil War to appear in a long time.

To Lieutenant Thomas Brice, recovered from wounds received at Gaines' Mill and returning to the fighting lines, I Company of the Second Maryland Infantry and its aged commander seem poor substitutes for the unit command he had expected. Still, he recognizes and accepts the task confronting him — that of winning acceptance by the enlisted men and the full confidence of Captain Stowell.

When one of the men removes the shoes from a wounded Union soldier, Brice indignantly orders them replaced, but Stowell countermands the young lieutenant's order and calls him aside. "You and I must reason together," he says. At sixty, the Captain has no prospects of promotion. Too proud to ask for release, he has somehow managed to keep pace with the relentless stride of his troops. Although in physical misery, he calmly and wisely explains the changes that have occurred since they campaigned together in the Valley. Now supplies and equipment are harder to obtain, and the soldiers have no alternative but to use what they capture or do without.

This incident is but the first of many concerning the "trying out" of Lieuten-

ant Brice. In combat the appraisal of a new officer by the veterans he hopes to command and lead is as severe a gauntlet as any man may run. To pass through it all is an ordeal, but to be fully accepted is no mean reward.

With attention centered on Stowell and Brice, the reader follows I Company through marches and countermarches, through the seeming endlessness of dirt roads churned to a powdery dust that billows under plodding feet to all but strangle the men. Later, after Generals Jubal Early and John B. Gordon are both concerned with the company's affairs, a new problem arises when Captain Stowell's young son is sent to them as a replacement. Torn between paternal affection and military impartiality, Stowell finds this test a difficult one. However, battle and the aging that comes so rapidly in it help solve even this problem, and I Company plods on to act out the grim, bitter aspect of that year of lengthening defeat that was 1864.

In *The Gray Captain* Jere Wheelwright has achieved in words what not even the photographic record of the Civil War can convey. His novel is at once a tribute to the courage that is our common heritage and the convictions that reflected it so certainly in that long ordeal.

ARNOLD GATES

Garden City, New York

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WITH THIS ISSUE

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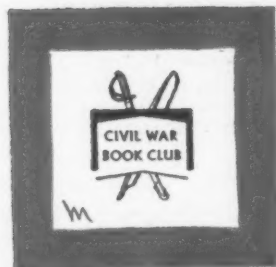
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